SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

Mirrors the World

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FOREWORD

In this issue of Social Process in Hawaii, the editors present articles designed to emphasize the importance of social research in Hawaii for the understanding of social processes of world-wide scope.

We begin by paying tribute to the late Romanzo Adams, pioneer sociologist, who established social research at the University of Hawaii and after whom the Social Research Laboratory has now been named by official action of the Board of Regents. There are brief statements by President Gregg M. Sinclair, Jesse F. Steiner, and Bernhard L. Hormann, made on May 19, when a reception, at which Mrs. Adams was the guest of honor, officially launched the new name. An excerpt from one of Adams' letters expresses his view of research. A longer statement by Mr. Hormann tells the story of how the research program of the sociology department at the University of Hawaii with race relations as its major theme has come to be embodied in the Social Research Laboratory. He suggests a reformulation of the theme.

Andrew W. Lind's discussion of the World Race Relations Conference in Honolulu was written as a preliminary evaluation soon after the completion of the conference. Social Process is publishing it to give its readers a report of this important conference held for four weeks during the summer of 1954 under the joint auspices of the University of Chicago, the University of California (Berkeley), and the University of Hawaii, and made possible by funds from the Ford Foundation and the McInerny Foundation.

Lewis W. Jones of Tuskegee Institute and Walter Kolarz of the staff of the British Broadcasting Corporation, both participants of the Conference, present their impressions of the community in which the Conference was held.

Lee M. Brooks, visiting professor of sociology from the University of North Carolina, discusses the problems raised in the South by the Supreme Court decision banning racial segregation in schools and gives a few possible implications for Hawaii.

There follows a preliminary report by Douglas S. Yamamura, chairman of the Sociology Department, and Raymond E. Sakumoto of an investigation of the inter-ethnic patterns of friendship and dating among undergraduate students at the University of Hawaii.

Dr. Yukiko Kimura of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory gives us an analysis of the difficulties involved in recent attempts to revive Portuguese folk dances in Hawaii.

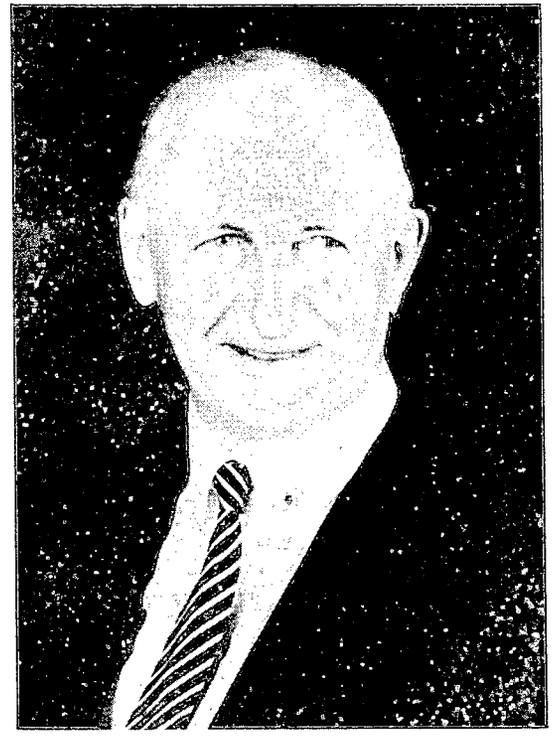
Sylvia Wu's paper on the life of her family in Hong Kong was written for an introductory course in Sociology. It is included because it illustrates the influence of residence in Hawaii upon this Chinese family after return to the original homeland. Social Process has made it a practice to present such descriptive accounts by students.

Evelyn Yama Kimura and Margaret Zimmerman Freeman, former graduate students, present a report of their research into the objective and subjective aspects of the process of assimilation of younger middle-aged Nisei of the middle class.

In the early issues of Social Process, books were occasionally reviewed, but in recent years this practice has been allowed to lapse. When a publisher sent us a book for review during the past year, we decided to revive a practice which can be of real value to the student interested in the sociology of Hawaii. Our reviewer, Evelyn Yama Kimura, was for two years researcher in the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory and has been teaching introductory sociology at Tulane University.

The Editors

DEDICATION OF THE ROMANZO ADAMS SOCIAL RESEARCH LABORATORY



Romanzo Adams
1868-1942
At the University of Hawaii
1920-1942

University of Hawaii
May 19, 1955

Dr. Bernhard L. Hormann
Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory
University of Hawaii
Honolulu 14, Hawaii

Dear Dr. Hormann:

I regret extremely that it will not be possible for me or Mrs. Sinclair to attend the reception this afternoon at the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory. I wish, however, that, if there should be any speeches, you would convey to the people present my wholehearted concurrence in the idea back of the change of name to honor Romanzo Adams.

I have long felt that something appropriate should be done at the University to memorialize Dr. Adams, who surely was one of the distinguished professors in all University of Hawaii history. When your suggestion came, I was glad to endorse it and pass it on to the Board of Regents. The Board unanimously authorized the change. Anything we do in memory of Dr. Adams will be only his due.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ GREGG M. SINCLAIR

A PERSONAL TRIBUTE

Bernhard L. Hormann

In dedicating the new name of the Social Research Laboratory, which was approved by official action of the Board of Regents, April 20, 1955, we honor the memory of Romanzo Adams. Dr. Adams came to the University of Hawaii as the first professor of sociology and economics in January, 1920. A Middle Westerner from Wisconsin, he had studied economics at the University of Michigan and sociology at the University of Chicago, where he earned his Ph. D. degree. Before coming to the University of Hawaii, he was at the University of Nevada. Dr. Adams was instrumental in introducing both anthropology and social work into the curriculum at the University of Hawaii.

As a former student of Dr. Adams, I should like to pay tribute to him as a great teacher. He has been one of the great influences in my life and certainly one which steered me into sociology. In class, he was enthusiastic about his lectures and interested in the point of view of the students, always encouraging them in intellectual growth. His great humility stood out at all times. His many traits as a very human person won for him many friends. He was kindly and thoughtful. A truly interesting talker, he brought into his conversations the fascinating materials with which his research was constantly bringing him into contact. He was decidedly a family man and loved the home he built on Liloa Rise. We are delighted to have Mrs. Adams as our honored guest today.

Today, we think particularly of his contribution as a social researcher. He loved to put his teeth into a difficult research problem. While his broad interests took him into many fields, he is perhaps most widely known for his studies of interracial marriage. He continued, even after his retirement, to do research. He was working on a manuscript dealing with the history of population in Hawaii at the time of his death and discussed his work before the Sociology Club but a few weeks before his passing. So devoted was he to the ceaseless search for truth that almost his last words in his last illness were, "We must continue to search for the truth." The spirit of this man is embodied in the Laboratory here which he founded. May we, his successors, continue the great work which he began.

THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW NAME

Jesse F. Steiner

It is a privilege to participate in this occasion which honors Dr. Romanzo Adams whose leadership in social research has made it eminently fitting that this laboratory should bear his name. For many years he pioneered in studies of race relations, and his publications in this field gave wide publicity to the unique racial situation prevailing in the Hawaiian Islands. Under the inspiration of his example, his colleagues in the Department of Sociology set up a social research laboratory which during recent years with the limited funds at its disposal has carried forward many research projects with chief emphasis upon the changing racial scene. That this research work has been of real value is now indicated by the recent action of the Board of Regents of the University in designating this departmental research organization the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory.

Dr. Adams' interest in Oriental people and the location of this University on sea and air routes to the Far East make it highly appropriate that this laboratory should now look forward to an enlargement of its scope so as to carry to fuller completion his dreams in the field of social research, An understanding of the problems of race relations extends far beyond the borders of sociology. It necessarily involves matters which lie in the fields of anthropology, economics, government, history, and psychology; and this laboratory should be expanded to include all the social sciences. And its range of studies should be made wide enough to cover all topics of interest to scholars concerned with the interrelations of the East and the West.

A laboratory of this kind with all the facilities essential for social research and located at this strategic outpost might very well become a center for the training of Far Eastern students in American research methods. The growing interest in social research in Japanese universities is turning the attention of their younger scholars to the desirability of a period of study in America. The University of Hawaii is their most easily accessible educational center where with the least travel expense they can come for a period of study. And for American students preparing to go to Japan, they would have at this University in addition to adequate training in research, the facilities of the Department of Asiatic Languages in acquiring the linguistic tools essential for their studies abroad. In this difficult task of acquiring a working knowledge of the Japanese language, their residence in this place would give them the further advantage of listening to Japanese language broadcasts, attending Japanese movies, and associating with persons speaking the Japanese language. If the University of Hawaii can be properly equipped for training in social research, it should become a recognized center for both Eastern and Western students preparing for work in this field of study.

University appropriations for the support of this enlarged laboratory should be supplemented by funds secured from local and Mainland Foundations. This has been in keeping with the experience of leading Mainland universities in promoting social research and integration of the social sciences. Through the provision of funds for the establishment of exchange scholarships carefully selected students from the Far East and America could participate in this research program and bring about closer relationships between Eastern and Western students in the field of the social sciences. If such a dream can be realized, I feel sure that the spirit of Romanzo Adams would rejoice.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

A statement in a letter by Romanzo Adams written in 1932 expressing his views on the function of research as distinguished from social action.

While I sometimes furnish information relative to social matters of local interest, I make it a practice not to associate myself with efforts to direct social policy. Social action, while it may be influenced by a knowledge of relevant facts, is not wholly determined thereby, but is influenced by the interests of different sections of the community, as they are conceived, and by traditional loyalties, prejudices, and habits of thought.

The process through which knowledge, special interests, and attitudes work out to determine social policy in a democracy may be called politics, using this word in a broad sense. It is a tradition of democracy that social policy will, in the long run, be better if knowledge is increased and popularized and if the interests and attitudes of all sections of society receive adequate consideration. On the whole, I am in sympathy with this doctrine.

There is, however, a rather important difference between the two parts of the procedure; the finding of truth and the application of it to practical issues. This latter involves efforts to convince, persuade, cajole, flatter, ridicule, or in other ways to secure an effective majority. Both procedures are called for, but participation in one sort of activity tends to disqualify one for the other. A division of labor is needed. My work is not in the field of social politics but in that of research.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

Bernhard L. Hormann

The Development of the Sociological Research Program at the University of Hawaii

The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory embodies the major part of the sociological research program at the University of Hawaii. It is a direct outgrowth of the sociological research initiated in 1920 when Romanzo Adams came to the University of Hawaii as its first professor of sociology and economics. While informally the term Sociology Laboratory came into general usage in the 1930's, it was the persistent need for sociological data during World War II that caused the Board of Regents of the University to establish in a more formal manner the War Research Laboratory. After the war, the name was changed to the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory, and on April 20 of this year to the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory.

In recent years, the Laboratory has been operating under a modest budget of approximately $3,000 to $4,000 per annum, which has been used primarily for three purposes, student research workers who work by the hour, new equipment, and supplies of various sorts. There are also two full-time employees under the Laboratory, a full-time researcher and a secretary. There have been three researchers, the first two being University of Hawaii graduates who had majored in sociology, and the present one a University of Chicago Ph.D. in sociology, with an M.A. in sociology from the University of Hawaii.

The direction of the Laboratory is assigned to one of the professors of the Sociology Department, who is given a quarter-time reduction from teaching in order to carry out these administrative responsibilities. Generally, members of the Sociology Department engaged in research participate in the Laboratory studies and all use its facilities.

The major theme of this research program has almost inevitably been race relations, for it is the interracial character of Hawaii's population which has attracted the research sociologist to Hawaii. But since race relations impinge on every other aspect of the Island society, the research program has been concerned with these other aspects. Thus, there has been work in many areas including:

1. Population and vital statistics.
2. Changing economy of Hawaii.
3. Industrial relations (unionization, strikes, etc.).
4. Cultures of the immigrant groups.
5. Development of immigrant institutions and the accommodation process.
6. Cultural conflicts: between dialect groups, between racial groups, between generations.
7. Assimilation and Americanization.
8. All forms of individual and social disorganization (crime, suicide, slums, gangs, delinquency, mental illness, divorce, illegitimacy, dependency, disorganization of Hawaiian and immigrant cultures).
9. Sociological impact of war and the long continued presence of large numbers of armed forces personnel.
10. Changing urban and rural communities and neighborhoods.

11. Political institutions and behavior (e.g., voting, public issues and opinion formation).
12. Religious institutions and behavior.
13. The changing role of education.
14. The changing family.
15. Social stratification.
16. The changing professions.
17. Voluntary associations and leisure time behavior.
18. The sociology of language.
19. Interracial friendship, marriage, families, organizations.
20. Collective behavior of all sorts, including social movements.
21. The development of neo-Hawaiian society and culture.
22. The sociology of the person and personality adjustment.

Many books, articles, theses, "progress reports," and oral presentations have been the fruits of this long-continued research. From 1931 to 1955, eighteen of the master's theses prepared for the Sociology Department were concerned with the sociology of Hawaii. The annual publication of the Sociology Club, Social Process in Hawaii, prepared with the editorial collaboration of the Laboratory, has from its first issue in 1936 through 1954 published a total of 170 articles by students, social scientists, and community leaders, almost all of which fill in the sociological picture of Hawaii with the many facets listed above. A mimeographed series of occasional progress reports, "What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing," started in 1943 and intended primarily for local community leaders and professional people, has twenty-two releases to its credit, dealing with a variety of subjects, such as changing marriage practices among Nisei, adjustment of war brides in Hawaii, the revival of Buddhism in Hawaii, statehood for Hawaii, the reopening of language schools, etc.

The wide-ranging character of this program becomes immediately apparent and calls for a comment, for with a limited staff a broadly spread program runs the danger of becoming thin and superficial. The writer repeats that race relations at all times was the focal point of the program, clearly constituting its long-range central theme. Research on problems marginal to sociology was attacked partly because so few others were concerned about studying them objectively. That this is true is, for instance, indicated by the fact that when scholars from other social science disciplines now write up their own recent researches they often refer to earlier studies by Adams and Lind. (e.g., the labor economist Mark Perlman in an article on "Organized Labor in Hawaii," Labor Law Journal, April, 1952, cites Adams and refers to Lind's studies.)

The continuity of this research program, its cumulative character, is a second outstanding feature. Romanzo Adams continued in active research until his death in 1942, twenty-two years after his original arrival to launch professional sociological research in Hawaii. Andrew W. Lind is rounding out his twenty-eighth year with the Sociology Department. Clarence Glick has served the University on three separate occasions, starting in 1929. Bernhard L. Hormann, Douglas Yamamura, and George Yamamoto, all of whom had their undergraduate and early graduate introduction to sociology at the University of Hawaii, have been members of the Department since 1939, 1949, and 1949, respectively. C. K. Cheng, joined the Department in 1947. Several of the visiting professors have returned for a second term, including Herbert Blumer, Jesse Steiner, and Lee Brooks, or at least returned for visits, like Robert E. Park, Ellsworth Faris, Edgar Thompson.

This continuity has led inevitably to the painstaking accumulation of files of reports, student papers, records, news clippings, statistical data,

population charts, maps, which through the years have come to constitute a basic body of sociological data making possible the carrying through of various specific projects. They have thus a direct bearing on the ability to produce the publications mentioned.

In this phase of its work the Laboratory may be likened to a meteorological or volcanological observatory, where continuity of the readings is of the essence, as well as to a library, which accumulates the data needed as background for research. Unfortunately limitations of time and space, as well as changing interests of the members of the Department make this work increasingly difficult. In this activity, the Laboratory, being without a librarian, has kept in touch with the Hawaiiana department of the University library. The newspaper files go back to the late 1920's and carry indexed references to many aspects of Hawaiian life. Since 1947 they have been classified according to a flexible scheme, with the following major categories, each having subdivisions:

A. Areas and Communities.
C. Cultural Groups
CH. Churches and Religion
CO. Communication
D. Social Disorganization
E. Education, Schools
G. Government and Politics
I. Industry, Labor, Business
LH. Land and Housing
N. National Defense
O. Organizations, Institutions, Groups, Classes
PE. People, Personalities, Local Color
PO. Population, Vital Statistics, Health
RA. Race Relations
RE. Recreation, Athletics
S. Sociological Processes and Forces (including public opinion and issues, social movements)
SR. Social Research
SW. Social Welfare

The clippings are from the two major newspapers of the Territory and a correlative file of translations from the local Japanese papers, more recently begun, is also maintained. These files provide essential background materials on most facets of life in Hawaii which would be of interest to social scientists. They are available to faculty members, students, and the wider community and have been used by persons outside the Department.

The basic statistics and crude and more refined analyses of births, deaths, marriages, divorces, population composition, crimes and other forms of social disorganization are constantly "on the conscience" of the Laboratory staff, although work on them occasionally lags in one area or another. Maps representing the distribution of the racial groups, of forms of disorganization, of members in certain organizations, and charts representing population trends and composition in Hawaii are constantly under preparation. The large number help to portray graphically basic characteristics and trends of the population of Hawaii.

Another invaluable set of records, the so-called "confidential file," has term papers, excerpts from student journals, interview materials, and summaries of discussions on the local scene. In this file are materials extending back a quarter of a century. Most of these materials are accessible by virtue of indexing, and they have been used by professional

researchers. They present a continuous record of more intimate, human, and personal aspects of the changing life in this community.

Service to Community

These wide-ranging and continuous files have made possible not only the more strictly professional research of the Department, but a continuing service to the community, namely the handling as expeditiously as possible of requests for sociological information and interpretation referred to the Laboratory from time to time. Of these, the following are merely characteristic:

1. Visiting social scientists and journalists and local newspapermen desire facts and interpretations, particularly about race relations. (e.g., representatives of Reader's Digest, New York Times, etc.) For professional scholars this help has at times been very extensive, in the expectation that the research results would become available to the Laboratory.

2. Local students at Mainland colleges and University of Hawaii students working on term papers or research projects approach the Laboratory for help. Such requests, when reasonable, are gladly complied with.

3. Various agencies in the community make use of the staff of the Research Laboratory to build their background on Hawaii. (e.g., Oahu Prison staff, Territorial Mental Hospital staff, community organizations.)

4. Interest groups request "objective" information. (e.g., officials, parties, journalists, unions on voting behavior, church councils on church membership statistics.) This usually involves research, which at the moment can or cannot be done.

5. Requests come in from foreign student orientation groups, schools, service clubs, church groups, and other organizations for lectures or talks.

6. Occasionally there are requests for the carrying out of a special research project. In this category can be mentioned:

   a. guidance in designing and analyzing the results of a study of worker attitudes towards a big company.
   b. a rent control survey for the City and County of Honolulu.
   c. a study of job satisfaction in the nursing profession.
   d. a study of the Honolulu jail population.

The last three were subsidized by outside sources.

Basic Research

Such various requests as come to the Social Research Laboratory or to the individual members of the Sociology Department are considered by them on the merits of the case, with these questions as guiding principles:

1. Is this a request which this University agency or the individual faculty member can and should answer as a public or community service?

2. Can the work entailed be justified as contributing to basic research?

The decision about actual work on projects has thus far been an individual one.

It would very easily be possible to give too much weight to the first consideration at the expense of the second. From the point of view of the specialized training of the sociologist and the obligations to the scientific community, the second consideration should have precedence. This means, however, that a basic research program should be clearly conceived.

In this connection, it may be mentioned parenthetically that a number of private research organizations in Hawaii are prepared to undertake special research projects on a contractual basis for both public and private agencies. The Laboratory is not in competition with these commercial research companies. It has in the past found occasion to cooperate with them and has from time to time sent sociology students and graduates to them for full-time and part-time employment. There have been informal discussions with representatives of these private research organizations with a view to even closer and more systematic cooperation. These discussions have not as yet resulted in a closer working arrangement. However, the very existence of these commercial researchers, who are prepared to assume the responsibility for special demands, means that the Laboratory can with good conscience be somewhat discriminating in accepting or rejecting such requests as come its way and can place its main emphasis on the basic research program.

Race Relations as a Theme

The special emphasis on race relations of the past decades was an attempt by sociologists to rise to their opportunities. The analyses of men like Romanzo Adams, Everett Stonequist, Edgar Thompson, Clarence Glick, Andrew W. Lind, working under the inspiration of men like Robert E. Park, corrected stereotyped notions about Hawaii, that it was a hotbed of Orientalism where the white man had no future, on the one hand; and that it was a racial paradise and the blue-printed solution to the race problem on the other. Being sober observers and objective scientists, these men found in their researches and showed in their published work that native Hawaiian society had suffered real social disorganization, that immigrant peoples became assimilated according to the same processes as immigrant groups from Europe in continental United States, that individuals undergoing this process became marginal men, that Hawaii's system of race relations had elements of tension and conflict and involved caste-like relationships particularly on the earlier "colonial" plantations, that what measure of harmony had been developed could be explained by clearly-recognizable social causes, such as the long independence of the Hawaiian kingdom, the early sanction by Hawaiian royalty of out-marriage, the influences of the urban trading economy, the very diversity of the population, and the consequent need for political and other community leaders to profess publicly what Adams called "Hawaii's unorthodox doctrine of race" in spite of privately held racial prejudices.

The culmination of the three decades of research on race relations and culture contacts was the "Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective" called by and held at the University of Hawaii in collaboration with the University of Chicago and the University of California during four weeks in the summer of 1954, where forty outstanding scholars from all

over the world gathered to pool their concepts, insights, and descriptive information about the whole field of race relations. Here it became apparent again that Hawaii's experience with race relations is pertinent to the understanding of race relations in other areas, and that its system is like that which develops in dynamic complexly interracial areas far advanced in the direction of commercial, industrial, and urban civilization.

The long period of concentration on race relations has in the experience of those most closely connected with the Laboratory demonstrated the value of a guiding long-range theme, for it has made for a degree of coherence both through time and among the variety of research projects pursued at any time. It has kept before the researchers the importance of conceiving of their local research as having relevance to an important general area of sociological concern and as having connections with the research interests of other social science disciplines.

Other research organizations are finding the principle of a guiding theme of value in their work. Thus the northern branch of the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California has stated its unifying theme in this way, "It seems to us that the industrial period is characterized by an increasing substitution of group decision for individual decision. . . . It is here that we look for the opportunity to conduct significant research which is both interdisciplinary in character and cumulative in effect."

To have a major theme may of course hamper a research program. If the theme is too narrow or too rigidly pursued it inhibits rather than guides research. Fortunately, the race relations theme never operated in this way. It had breadth and flexibility, as is shown for instance by the fact that it led easily into useful research during the critical World War II period. No one in sociological research at the University of Hawaii ever used it to force specific projects on colleagues or students.

Granted the desirability of some sort of a unifying and guiding but not constraining concept of the research program, we must ask ourselves what concept would be most conducive to significant research at this present time.

The study of race and culture contacts continues as a promising and unfinished research area and it would be unfortunate to abandon it. However, there are several good reasons why a new theme which embraces race relations may now be considered. The word "race" has always led to a certain amount of misunderstanding. While at the University of Hawaii and at the Race Relations Conference it was used flexibly to include several types of socially recognized groups, including those identified by a common national and cultural ancestry (e.g., Japanese and Portuguese in Hawaii) as well as those characterized by differential physical traits (e.g., Caucasians in Hawaii), this very flexibility has led to misunderstandings. There is the further difficulty that while anthropologists generally study the physical and cultural traits of "races," the sociologists study what happens when such racial groups come into contact with one another. There is thus a confusion about what people expect of research which is done in the name of race relations. Finally, the word race has strong emotional and political connotations which many stand in the way of objective research. These three difficulties occasionally handicapped the discussions at the Race Relations Conference.

While the problem of race relations is still acute in several parts of the world, nevertheless the defeat of a racialist totaliterianism, the rapidity of change in race relations in the United States and elsewhere in the last ten years, the general decline of colonialism on the part of the "white" powers in the same period, and the world's pre-occupation with the issue between the Communist and non-Communist world, cutting across racial cleavages and to

some degree replacing the cleavage between the "East" and the "West" and that between the white and the colored races, these changes all suggest that the problems of race relations no longer occupy as central a position in world civilization. At the same time it is also true that in Hawaii, because of the increasingly widespread participation of persons of all races in almost all aspects of Island life, race relations no longer hold the center of the stage as much as formerly.

Social Process in Hawaii Mirrors the World in Transition

But both in the world at large and in Hawaii race relations are a part of the process whereby industrial-urban civilization is supplanting folk and peasant societies and changing the whole world. In this all-pervasive process of the modern world we can perhaps see the new theme, taking a cue from one of the commissions set up at last year's World Race Relations Conference to propose future research. In its report to the Conference, it declared:

> Industrialization and urbanization are among the most pervasive social processes of modern times, stretching across national, cultural, and ideological frontiers, and already affecting to some degree all but a small fraction of mankind. As yet, the majority of the world's population neither work in factories nor live in towns, even though they are affected by factory products and urban movements. Yet as industrialism spreads, so will increasing numbers of people be brought into new situations of conflict, stress, and adjustment. The social forces generated by these processes undermine traditional loyalties, reshape old ways of thinking and acting and develop new institutions and relations, many of which may be phrased in terms of racial allegiance.
>
> There were towns and cities before modern industry appeared in the world. Nevertheless from the standpoint of race relations, the commission believes that any attempt rigorously to separate industrialization and urbanism would at this stage impede rather than facilitate research. Its formulation therefore concentrates on the contemporary scene where cities and industries are intimately linked, while recognizing that an important historical dimension is implicit in many of the problems outlined.

The establishment by UNESCO of an International Research Office on Social Implications of Technical Change, the calling by UNESCO of a conference on the social impact of industrialization and urban conditions in Africa during September of last year (incidentally our Clarence Glick was in attendance), a session two years earlier of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations on "the attraction exercised by urban and industrial centres in countries in process of industrialization," the preparation of a manual on "Cultural Patterns and Technical Change" under the editorship of Margaret Mead by the World Federation for Mental Health--all since 1950--indicate a world-wide interest in this problem.

Hawaii's great value to fundamental social science research grows out of the fact that it telescopes in space and time the major social processes of the modern world. Its uniqueness lies, not in its equable climate and exotic language, its polyglot and exotic peoples, its system of "racial harmony," but rather in the fact that what has been happening to the world at large is

compressed into an observable period of time and into an equally observable clearly demarcated area. Hawaii is thus a microcosm of the world, a ready-made model, such as exists nowhere else. It is the set-off quality of Hawaii which has caused social scientists to refer to it as a laboratory and a social observatory. Being a "natural community," Hawaii makes it possible to "see" in bold relief the social processes occurring in the modern period throughout the world.

A unique advantage for the well-trained and insightful social scientist is the fact that Hawaii has an abundance of historical records and statistical data to document these major social changes and to make it possible to pursue systematic studies of contemporary Hawaii. It has even been claimed that Hawaii is the most "measured" area in the world.

This state of affairs means that almost any important social process of the world, the breakdown of folk societies; the decline and revival of populations; colonialism; the development of a trading economy; the missionary movement; the spread of mass literacy; labor-management relations on an industrial and inter-industrial level; race and culture contacts; religious, political, and other social movements; the substitution of an urban way of life for a peasant way of life, can be studied in its observable Hawaiian setting. Research into the "social process in Hawaii" thus takes on the character of a sort of pilot study of major world processes. These various processes can be considered aspects of the general industrialization and urbanization process, which is well advanced in Hawaii, where it has involved, among others, immigrants from the dense peasant populations of Asia, who at home are only in the first painful stages of industrialization-urbanization. Therefore it is a challenge to define our unifying problem as the clarification by systematic studies in Hawaii of the process whereby folk and peasant peoples develop and follow an industrialized and urbanized way of life and to use as our theme: Social Process in Hawaii Mirrors the World in Transition.

The race relations theme was, to the writer's knowledge, never "adopted" by "official" action by anyone. It was, in the parlance of today, a "natural." Diversion into other fields there was. Service to the local community was not shirked. But to race relations the sociologists kept returning and in this field are found the major contributions of the Laboratory through the years.

In proposing a new theme, the writer does not expect any official approval, at least not until after a "trial run" of a year or two. But he feels that the theme proposed is the next "natural" development, organically related to what has been done up to now. It has the advantages, in sum, of:

1. incorporating and thus continuing the work in race and culture contacts;

2. relating the research of the Laboratory to important social research interests and activities throughout the world, and particularly relating it to the basic social changes of Asia and the Pacific;

3. encouraging interdisciplinary collaboration;

4. dramatizing Hawaii's still largely unrealized potentialities as a locale for basic research in the social sciences;

5. allowing for diversity of pursuits while at the same time lending to them unity and coherence.

THE CONFERENCE ON RACE RELATIONS IN WORLD PERSPECTIVE

Andrew W. Lind

By any criteria, the Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective was a daring venture. It might seem overly optimistic to expect effective interchange among persons with such sharply contrasted viewpoints as a Bantu anthropologist and a Boer administrator with Malan's government, an Indian social philosopher and a British colonial adviser of many years in Burma, the son of a Carolina plantation owner and a strong proponent of Negro rights. Even the benign atmosphere of Honolulu could not be expected to dissolve the biases to which all people, including social scientists, are subject in an area of such explosive potentialities as that of race relations. The one warrant of common understanding in the conference -- the English language -- was no safeguard against the confusing terminology of the separate social sciences. Only the strong determination on the part of the participants to make the most of their unprecedented opportunities for interchange with scientists of widely varied persuasions and differing experience, and their sense of the critical potential of the problems of race relations in the modern world, could surmount some of the difficulties inherent in the conference.

Fortunately the objectives outlined in advance for the conference were bold enough to fire the imaginations of the tough-minded participants and modest enough to offer some prospect of success. Four specific goals had been established by the steering committee and were announced in advance as follows:

1. A meeting of minds and interstimulation among the most acute observers and the keenest analysts of race relations in various parts of the world.

2. A more effective sharing of knowledge by social scientists and race relations policy-makers as to the nature and history of race relations.

3. The discovery of the more important gaps in our present knowledge of the nature of race relations.

4. The formulation of a conceptual framework for subsequent studies.

It is still too early to make any final assessment of the conference in terms of these objectives, but a preliminary evaluation may be appropriate at this time.

1. A Meeting of Observers and Analysts of Race Relations.

Despite the continuing significance of racial considerations on the international scene, there has been no effective interchange among scientists working in this area for a period of more than forty years. To be more precise, there has never been any continuing contact among the specialists on race relations around the world. One of the first and most difficult tasks in arranging a conference to help fill this void was to select a small group of suitable participants.

A list of more than 200 names derived from numerous sources was carefully reviewed in the light of the conference objectives. A serious

attempt was made to secure qualified observers and research scholars from the more distinctive areas of race relations around the world. Less consideration was given, however, to their professional positions as social scientists than to their understanding of what happens when races meet. Insofar as possible, scholars with field experience were selected in preference to those whose knowledge was exclusively theoretical.

The enthusiastic response to the idea of the conference from all persons to whom inquiries or invitations were extended, reflects the serious concern with which scholars regard the subject. Ten persons of the total of fifty who were invited to attend found it necessary for one reason or another -- official responsibilities, previous commitments, or illness -- to decline, but all of them recognized the value of holding such a conference. Several prominent administrators, including Ralph Bunche, Director of Trusteeships, United Nations; W. K. Hancock, Director, Institute of Commonwealth Studies; Margery Perham of Oxford University; and Soedjatmoko of the Indonesian Institute of World Affairs, had tentatively accepted appointments to the conference but were subsequently compelled by the pressure of their duties to withdraw.

The official roster of the conference contains the names of forty participants, of whom four were registered as observers for UNESCO, the Committee for Free Asia, and World Brotherhood. The earlier plan of confining the number of participants to about twenty-two in the interests of greater penetration and freedom of discussion, was somewhat modified so as to provide for greater coverage of significant geographical areas. Even with this compromise, it was impossible to obtain the desired representation from certain critical areas, especially in Southeast Asia and portions of Africa.

The wide range of professional representation in the conference was both a strength and a weakness. Although sociologists and anthropologists dominated the conference numerically -- twenty-one of the total of forty -- there were one or more representatives of such fields as economics, political science, public administration, journalism, geography, education, history, philosophy, and social psychology. Each discipline had its peculiar modes of conceiving and approaching race relations, which sometimes illuminated and sometimes confused the issues. Even within the same discipline such as anthropology or sociology, however, there were sharp cleavages in viewpoint which four weeks of discussion could not resolve. Although the difficulties arising from the lack of a common terminology were sometimes painfully evident, it is doubtful if the conference could have served its purposes so well with any of the major viewpoints lacking.

This is probably also true of the difference in viewpoint which soon emerged in the conference between the two or three who favored the adoption of resolutions and pronouncements of "what should be done about race relations," and the large majority who held that science is established through empirical research and not by passing resolutions nor by counting votes. This issue was presented directly to the conference in one of the final sessions, and the decision to refrain from issuing a set of affirmations regarding race and race relations was the more surely established as a result of the discussion to which the issue had previously been subjected.

Whatever success the conference may have achieved in effecting a genuine meeting of minds among the participants will, of course, become evident in their increased scholarly productiveness rather than in any immediate findings upon which the conferees might have agreed. It was soon evident from the vigorous participation in the conference discussions and the persistently high record of attendance, despite the competing attractions of Waikiki and Hawaii's many other allurements, that the conferees were being

greatly stimulated and enlightened by what was taking place. The two or three participants who came with expectations of an action-oriented conference were disappointed that the steering committee and their fellow conferees were unwilling to yield on this principle, but no one could doubt that a wealth of significant information about race relations was being provided and that new conceptions were being evolved.

Some measure of the stimulation derived by the conferees is provided in the fact that, instead of requesting relief from what appeared to the steering committee to be a heavily loaded program of formal sessions, the participants asked for more. It is conservatively estimated that a total of eighty hours were devoted to the plenary sessions of the conference, not to mention the many hours in commission meetings and informal gatherings related to the conference.

2. A Sharing of Knowledge on Race Relations.

Most of the literature on race relations suffers from acute parochialism. American students have been largely preoccupied with the Negro problem; scholars working in Latin America have focused their attention chiefly upon the relations between Indians and Whites; and race relations in South Africa have naturally been conceived almost wholly in terms of Bantus, Boers, and Britons. Such exclusive concern with the problems of the region, while understandable and sometimes necessary for effective local administration, militates against the emergence of scientific knowledge. The careful analysis of specific cases, the comparison between such cases, and generalization based upon them -- these constitute the essence of science, which has as yet only slightly penetrated into the studies of race relations. It is also becoming increasingly apparent that sound policy with respect to race relations, even on the local level, demands much wider acquaintance with what is happening elsewhere in the world than most administrators have thus far possessed.

Special attention in planning for the conference was therefore given to the funding and sharing of knowledge as a first important step in meeting the existing needs. It was thought that the evening sessions during the first two weeks of the conference would be adequate to provide conferees with the required descriptive information and that the remaining sessions might be devoted to a consideration of the common principles and processes. Contrary to expectations, these evening sessions were attended in large numbers by both the conferees and the general public who were also invited. In response to demands from conferees, it was also necessary to arrange three extra plenary sessions to provide additional descriptive and interpretive data on certain geographical areas of critical interest -- Hawaii, continental United States, and South Africa.

The decision to devote the public evening sessions to a simple, descriptive accounting of the history and nature of race relations in the more distinctive areas of the world probably served several useful functions. In an effort to make their analyses understandable to the general public, the speakers also succeeded in achieving a satisfactory level of communication with their fellow conferees and an objectivity which was not always reached in the closed sessions. The large and obviously interested audiences of Hawaii's cosmopolitan population provided the conferees with another, and, to some, a rather startling evidence of the way in which island democracy works. The fact that the largest auditorium on the campus was well filled on all nine evenings and that intelligent and searching questions were asked by the audience, doubtless helped to develop among the conferees a further sense of the significance of the task in which they were engaged, and of the

importance of communicating their findings to a wider public capable of acting upon these facts.

The justification, on the other hand, of excluding all but the small group of regular conferees from most of the sessions was also made evident in some of the public sessions. The contrast between the formal and polished manner and language of the public sessions, and the more direct and unequivocal approach in the closed sessions was obvious to all the regular participants. Many of the more penetrating insights and observations from the conferees would have been lost if either the press or an audience had been present at the regular conference sessions.

The success of the conference in abstracting general propositions and principles from the vast amount of concrete data presented will naturally impress the conferees differently, depending upon their previous acquaintance with the field and their own experiences. Those with the broadest range of experience in research or administration tended to be more critical of the efforts at generalization, but they were also highly appreciative of the opportunity to test their own conceptions by the insights and judgments of others. It was especially gratifying to observe the way in which rather elementary conceptions were welcomed by other participants for the new insights they could afford. It would therefore be presumptuous in a preliminary report of this type to attempt even to enumerate, much less to evaluate, the new ideas which emerged, or to suggest the way in which old ideas were more clearly defined during the course of the conference.

Some indication of the level of scientific abstraction achieved in the conference is revealed in the preliminary papers submitted. Although fourteen of the twenty-one articles had a rather specific geographical orientation, such as to Australia, Brazil, South Africa, or the United States, all made use to a greater or less degree of the prevailing conceptions of the social sciences for purposes of analysis. The other seven papers had a topical or theoretical orientation with only incidental historical or geographical allusions. Scattered through all of the papers are ideas and concepts which give order and meaning to the specific data under consideration and which might also illuminate vastly wider areas if they were so utilized.

The conference agenda were largely organized around different facets of race relations theory, such as the demographic, economic, occupational, administrative, political, and socio-psychological, but quite inevitably the discussions frequently shifted to the descriptive aspects as providing an easier basis on which to obtain consensus. On the other hand, some of the most stimulating and profitable sessions were devoted to the examination of conceptions emanating from the conferees. The participants from Europe were responsible for injecting into the conference certain ideological concepts, such as that of negritude, the "elder brother" theory of race relations, and race as an idée force, conceptions whose value in race relations had not previously impressed very many American scholars. Similarly, certain concepts developed and introduced by the American conferees, such as the race relations frontier, race-making situations, and racial types, were eagerly examined and criticized by the non-American participants.

3. The Discovery of Gaps in the Knowledge About Race Relations.

It is well known that science develops by the discovery of negative cases and of breaches in its knowledge, as well as by the impressive building of cases which substantiate existing hypotheses. The Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective would obviously have been incomplete if this

essential but not so pleasant or immediately rewarding task had been disregarded.

Although this function, of the conference was less consciously recognized than most of the others, the participants were compelled again and again to recognize important areas in which the most elementary facts were simply not available -- at least to the conferees and probably not in the literature either. Frequently the comment was heard, "The experience in the areas under my observation does not appear to confirm the proposition just mentioned." More often regret was expressed that relevant data were not available. Even some of the most basic facts of a demographic nature, as to the size, age and sex character, and the trends in the population of racial groups, were frequently not known. It is fairly certain that one of the most immediate consequences of the conference will be an increased disposition on the part of the conferees to find and check the needed data and that the ends of science will thus be better served.

One of the more serious difficulties which the conferees encountered and which the sessions should help to resolve was the lack of common agreement as to what race itself means in different parts of the world. The conferees themselves were not entirely agreed on a single definition of the term, some insisting upon the original biological meaning of the word, and the larger number accepting the shifting social interpretations, with their varied identification of race as a biological, linguistic, religious, national, or cultural phenomenon. To many the possibility of such a conception of race was itself a significant discovery.

4. Plans for Subsequent Research.

The conference had always been conceived not merely as a meeting, no matter how impressive or stimulating it might be, but rather as an introduction to an era of creative cooperation among social scientists and administrators around the world who are concerned with race relations. The success of such a venture will depend, among other things, upon the existence of channels of communication among the interested persons, as well as the desire to utilize these means of communication.

It was thought that the association in Honolulu for four weeks of rigorous conference sessions and of friendly and informal visiting among a group of representative scholars from around the world might provide a basis for continuing communication and inter-stimulation after the close of the conference. The idea of a more permanent organization to build upon the scientific groundwork laid in this conference soon began to take form.

Prior to the Honolulu meetings, plans had been made to publish, in book form, the twenty-one data papers and thus to share with the broader world of scholars some of the insights and perspectives of the conference. The authors of these papers were given the right to revise them in the light of the conference discussions and the completed manuscripts are to be ready for final editing by October 15, with the expectation that the book may go to press by January 15, 1955. (The book is now in press-Ed., Sept., 1955.)

Another book will seek to interpret the highlights of the conference for a wider reading public. The original plan of bringing a professionally trained journalist to prepare this book resulted in the selection of Mr. Harold Isaacs whose skill in writing and extensive studies in areas of complicated race relations appeared to qualify him well for this task. Prior to the close of the conference, however, Mr. Isaacs decided that he could not write the type

of manuscript which was desired -- that the materials from the conference sessions did not lend themselves to the preparation of a book of broad public appeal. Other participants were convinced, however, that the conference discussions contained a wealth of suitable material for such a book and shortly after the close of the conference, arrangements were made with Mr. Melvin Conant, Director of the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council, to undertake the task. Apart from his training as a student of colonial affairs, especially in Southeast Asia, and as the rapporteur for several conferences of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Mr. Conant has the special advantage of having participated in the local planning for the Conference and of being himself very much impressed by the significance of the conference. His manuscript is now in the hands of the University of Hawaii Press.

The three working commissions of the conference -- on the Historical Backgrounds of Modern Racial Problems, on Industrialization and Urbanization as Affecting Race Relations, and on Political Institutions in Multiracial Society -- all submitted, during the last week of the conference, reports in which suggestions for research occupied a central place. The first commission, which concerned itself largely with the impact of race as an idea of Western expansion on the one hand and of reactions of the native and minority groups on the other, felt that adequate research materials were available on most of the major problems presented for consideration and that the task consisted chiefly in analyzing and interpreting these materials. The commission on Industrialization and Urbanization, with much of its emphasis also upon the historical processes, were impressed by the inadequacy of the basic data and with the need for "substantial research and analysis."

The entire conception of the conference, the preparations for it, and the developments within the conference itself, all pointed quite naturally to the formation of some organization to give permanent expression to its ideas with respect to race relations research. The conference, in one of its few business sessions, voted to establish an International Society for the Scientific Study of Race Relations, and elected officers to complete the organization of the society and to conduct its affairs during the initial three-year period. The officers elected were: Chairman, E. Franklin Frazier, Chairman of the Sociology Department, Howard University; Vice-Chairman, Quintin A. Whyte, Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations; and Secretary-Treasurer, William O. Brown, Director of the African Research and Studies Program, Boston University. These officers, assisted by four additional elected members of the conference, Georges Balandier (Institut d' Etudes Politiques), John Barnes (London School of Economics), Albert Hourani (Oxford University), and Andrew Lind (University of Hawaii), will constitute a provisional executive committee during the first year of the society and will aid in expanding the membership to include qualified students and administrators in the field of race relations on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

The society has been conceived "to promote the scientific and objective study of relations between ethnic groups and to aid the collection, exchange and publication of information and knowledge pertaining to such study." It was agreed that in the pursuit of these purposes the society might be most useful in providing a medium of communivation and as a clearing-house.of information for students of race relations in all parts of the world. The society will not itself engage in research but will seek to encourage and promote studies by local scholars and research organizations wherever the need exists. Funds to support such studies will be sought from the larger foundations and from private donors concerned with the objectives of the society.

The ISSSRR will be strategically situated to carry on where the conference leaves off, especially with reference to the encouragement of research in areas which have hitherto been neglected. The value on the theoretical and practical sides of such a concerted and comparative attack upon the problems of race relations in the emerging world society can scarcely be exaggerated.

Although a final assessment of the conference may not properly occur for months or years, it seems clear that critical needs for knowledge in the field of race relations do exist which only some such gathering of scientists might be expected to fill. Merely to enable forty of the foremost scholars and administrators in the field to establish contacts with one another would itself be a worthwhile achievement. Four weeks of continuous association among such a company, including the informal interchange of ideas while eating and drinking together, often continuing until late at night, inevitably yield values of far-reaching significance. Some portent of these values will become evident in the two volumes based upon the conference to be published within the coming year. This conference was, however, only the beginning of an association among seekers of knowledge around the world, whose ultimate influence no one now could well predict.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION AND RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAII

Lewis W. Jones

In the course of his orientation, the visitor to Hawaii hears many conflicting opinions about race relations there. Hawaiians are encountered who believe that Oahu and Honolulu are a near-paradise and that race relations are nowhere so good as there where so many different peoples live together. One highly-placed lady, believing this, expressed annoyance at the subject of race relations being discussed by delegates to the "Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective" outside of their sessions at the University. Other residents of Honolulu warned against taking a too optimistic view derived from one-sided reports or one's casual experiences. These knew instances and circumstances which they offered as proof that there were sinister forces at work assidiously fostering and promoting racial antagonism.

Ordering one's experiences and examining the reports given about race relations gives the impression that there is some confusion of racial antagonism with tensions and antagonisms rooted in the general social diversity of Hawaii. These various tensions and antagonisms do not meet the generally accepted criteria for identifying a race problem. Therefore, some description of them may contribute to understanding them and to understanding why some people would identify them as being racial.

There is obvious economic differentiation in which economic status, in a rough measure, appears to be equated with ethnic identification. This phenomenon, however, is quickly recognized as being related to the relative time of migration to the Islands and the circumstances in which that migration was made. The types of occupation followed, the amount of money earned, and spent set people apart. Such distinctions in themselves have only incidental relation to ethnic background, language, or physical characteristics. Nevertheless, poorer people express some resentment against the power of people of higher economic status. A very small shop-keeper discoursed at some length on the Haoles who rushed to the Mainland when war came, only to return following the war, buy choice dwelling sites and attempt to force out other older settlers in the area who were poorer and of different ethnic background.

It is not the purpose of this paper to consider economic stratification and its ramifications but, only in passing, to refer to the economic basis of differentiation of people who live on Oahu. Of special interest to the writer were those voluntary associations of people which served to preserve and continue their several ethnic identities. Immediately noticeable by the visitor are the number and diversity of religious and recreational groups. The presence and continued survival of such groups, associations, and institutions account for much of the charm of the city of Honolulu and the island of Oahu. The in-group cultural ties and the social-psychological motivations for maintaining them are of intense interest and offer possibilities for sociological research. What is to be observed in Honolulu may be observed in any cosmopolitan city. In Honolulu the great diversity in religious groups and recreational groups has a more vivid impact on the passing observer because of the relatively small size of the city and the immediate juxtaposition of distinctive groupings.

The temples, shrines, and churches: Buddhist, Shinto, Mormon Catholic, and Protestant in full denominational range, all suggest some in-group solidarity. ' Different degrees of exclusiveness of the initiates of

groups set them apart from those who do not share their beliefs and follow their practices. There is a general feeling that these religious groupings represent a broader social cohesion than simple religious observance. During the war some religious establishments were seized and closed by the military authorities as possible foci for dissidence against the interests of the United States. It was reported that in the summer of 1954 a few religious establishments* were still closed and had not been returned to religious groups to which they belonged. Just how deep religious distinctions go in determining significant social cleavage is a question to which a definitive answer is desirable. A corollary of this question is: To what extent do the religious groupings provide psychological satisfactions that fortify their adherents for cooperative participation in other areas of living, thus having a latent cohesive function? These are questions that the transient observer asks himself with no hope of finding a satisfactory answer in his own logical ruminations.

Nature has contrived to make of the island a delightful playground and recreation a more than ordinary social concern. The tourist trade and entertainment of the thousands constantly coming and going focuses attention on recreation and amusement, an attention shared not only by those catering to the vacation business, but also by the people of all classes who are permanent residents.

As in any other cosmopolitan city, Honolulu has its many recreational places which distinctive groups in the population seek when amusement-bent. These may be identified and catalogued in any large city in terms of the groups they cater to. Catering may not be the precise word since in many instances the catering follows appropriation of the establishment to itself by a distinctive group. These groups may be age groups, social status groups, interest groups, etc. They are to be found as commonly among a single ethnic group as not. Honolulu seems to have more of them because it also has more ethnic groups with distinctive cultural memories--food, music, idiom, and etiquette. The common characteristic of all of them is that they are places where people voluntarily seek pleasure and relaxation. The outsider is suspect and not heartily welcomed where he obviously does not fit in easily.

The recreation areas and centers catering to the transient vacationist, the Malihini, are themselves sociologically interesting in the effort to foster a kind of exclusiveness. But, it is the small recreation center frequented by a distinctive in-group that offers great possibility for the social psychological study of personal and group adjustment. My experience in Honolulu impressed on me the importance of such establishments in a variegated society having an electric culture. It appears that the uncomfortable and insecure find relaxation and a kind of psychological peace in these places. People commonly find satisfaction and a sense of security among those with experiences and tastes similar to their own. In the smaller bars and places of recreation frequented by poorer people of the several ethnic enclaves comfort and understanding were to be shared. Relishing a choice delicacy, speaking in their most fluent language or idiom, among those with whom they comfortably identified themselves, these groupings--Korean, Negro, Japanese, Chinese, seemed to form an in-group. As in the case of the religious groupings, these secular groupings raised questions about their divisive and cohesive functions. What is the real social psychological value of members

*A few former shrines and temples are still being used by other organizations for secular purposes, while the original religious groups are conducting services elsewhere. Editor.

of an ethnic enclave coming together and relieving their own frustrations through expression of views against people different from themselves? Does this communion with their own make it easier to return to a living and working situation and carry on cooperatively? Or, are antagonisms strengthened and the return made with deep-seated resentment?

So far as my own experiences and observations went, I saw no evidence of a race problem in Honolulu as we understand it on the Mainland. What I saw was the great social and cultural diversity with many enclaves, groups, cliques, etc., between any of which misunderstanding may develop and give rise to tension. Such tensions arising may or may not take on the character of racial antagonism. The tourists alone, whether belonging to the high income "international set" or sailors enjoying a few hours of shore leave, seemed to present the most serious threat to the dynamic equilibrium. The irresponsible mood of the transient, pleasure-bent, is a social fact to be carefully considered. Whether Malihini or Kamaaina, the racist is dangerous if he sees in the colorful diversity of Hawaii an opportunity for mischief-making.

THE MELTING POT IN THE PACIFIC*

Walter Kolarz

Fourteen thousand kilometres away from London and three thousand kilometres away from the west coast of the United States, in the middle of the Pacific there are the Hawaiian Islands. They are so far west that one would go east if one went a little farther. The remarkable thing about these islands is that they are, as it were 'unfinished'. They are unfinished geologically since they are still the scene of frequent volcanic eruptions. They are also unfinished politically. At present the islands have only the status of a United States Territory, but the vast majority of its inhabitants want it to become the forty-ninth state of the U. S. A. Finally, they are unfinished in the ethnographic and sociological sense--and it is with this aspect that I want to deal.

I have just spent a month in Hawaii and have been greatly interested in a dual process which is now going on there--the dying of an old nation and the birth of a new one. The nation that is dying are the Hawaiians, the Polynesian aboriginal inhabitants of the Territory, and the nation that is emerging is the neo-Hawaiian nation formed out of the remnants of the Hawaiian people and various immigrant groups. These immigrant groups belong to many different races and cultures.

Let us throw a quick glance at the present racial composition of Hawaii, so as to get a better idea of the raw material of which the neo-Hawaiian nation is built. Over three-fifths of Hawaii's 500,000 inhabitants hail from east and southeast Asia. The largest single Asian group are the Japanese. In fact, they are the largest nationality in the islands in general, forming thirty-seven per cent of the entire population. Like most of the other immigrants, they came to Hawaii as agricultural labourers working in the fifty sugar and pineapple plantations. But in the past sixty or seventy years they have gradually penetrated into most professions and occupations. The children of poor labourers have become prosperous business men, doctors, civil servants, and university lecturers.

Next in importance among the Asians rank the Filipinos, forming twelve per cent of the population. They came more recently than the Japanese, some of them only after the second world war. Economically and socially, they are still the most backward section in Hawaii. There is a marked difference between them and the oriental group next in size, the Chinese, who as owners of larger business enterprises wield considerable economic power. The first Chinese settled down in Hawaii about a century ago and at one time they were the largest foreign group. With the arrival of other waves of immigrants their relative importance has steadily declined. Today, they constitute only between six and seven per cent of the total population.

Less than a quarter of the citizens of Hawaii are white immigrants of European stock. They are a mixed lot. At least one-third of them are Portuguese, and to make things more complicated they are divided into Portuguese from the Azores and those from Portugal proper. There are also Spaniards, Germans, and a few Russians, and there is, of course, a very sizeable body of real Yankees. But the picture of ethnographic

*This article first appeared in The Listener, October 28, 1954, and is reproduced by special permission of B. B. C. & the author.

diversity is not yet complete, for I have still omitted to mention some of the minor groups, such as the 9,000 Puerto Ricans, the 7,000 Koreans, the 2,600 Negroes, and the several hundred Polynesians from the island of Samoa. Some of the complications in the ethnographic picture of Hawaii are too subtle to be expressed in the official statistical data that is available. For instance, the census figures simply refer to Japanese as an entity, but among the Japanese are a large number from the Okinawan Islands who at certain times have shown a very outspoken group-consciousness. Nor do the Hawaiian Filipinos form a homogeneous whole. They belong to three different groups whose languages are mutually unintelligible.

Against the background of world events of the past fifteen or twenty years it seems almost unbelievable that the various hereditary enemies of east Asia, such as Koreans and Japanese or Chinese and Japanese, not to speak of Americans and Japanese during the second world war, should live so peacefully together. And yet they do. Those racial and national animosities which are such powerful political motives both in east Asia and on the American mainland count for little in the Hawaiian-Islands. Naturally, such events as Pearl Harbor or the Japanese occupation of the Philippines have not been without influence on race relations in Hawaii--but it is amazing how little damage they have caused. The Hawaiian Americans trusted the Hawaiian Japanese, on the whole, even in time of war. Out of the 160,000 Japanese who then lived in the islands not more than 981 (mostly Shinto and Buddhist priests and other community leaders of the older generation) were deported. Today it is recognized that even this was a superfluous, precautionary measure. The same applies to the closing of Japanese language schools and to the appearance of somewhat ridiculous posters which urged the oriental population to 'speak American'.

It is astonishing how quickly even strong prejudices die, once a person arrives in Hawaii. I know a Chinese lady who came to Honolulu from Shanghai in the late nineteen-thirties full of bitterness against the Japanese who were just at that time engaged in what they called the 'Chinese incident'. Not long after her arrival she had made friends among the Hawaiian Japanese. Mixed Chinese-Japanese or even Chinese-Japanese-Korean parties belong to the most delightful aspects of race relations in the islands.

If there is a group conflict in Hawaii it exists much more between generations than between races. Among the older generation of Japanese there were certainly some who wept at the news of Japan's military defeat in 1945 and even more at the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima. The children of these very people were at the same time wholeheartedly celebrating the American victory. Not all were able to celebrate. Quite a number of young Hawaiian Japanese had enrolled as volunteers in the American forces and lost their lives on European battlefields. It is mostly the older generation which still keeps up special associations confined to a given national group and which patronizes newspapers that are published in Japanese, Chinese, or Filipino. The young generation, as a rule, leaves behind the narrow group atmosphere. Inter-racial social clubs and organization are, therefore, becoming more important and some which were originally connected with one race only have been internationalized in recent years. The schools are a particularly good training ground for a new inter-racial Hawaiian patriotsim and so is the local university where the vast majority of the students are of oriental ancestry.

As far as the political scene is concerned, both the Republican and the Democratic Party operate in the islands. Both recruit their membership from all sections of the community, but the Democrats have perhaps a slightly larger following among the non-white groups. The two Houses of the

Hawaiian parliament are truly inter-racial bodies. The President of the House of Representatives is Chinese and the President of the Senate a Japanese.

The most important single factor that makes for an atmosphere of racial harmony in Hawaii is the high percentage of mixed marriages in the Territory. Nearly every third marriage concluded in the islands is one between people of different races. These mixed marriages produce an almost infinite selection of new racial types and will no doubt ultimately lead to the disappearance from Hawaii of what is called 'racial purity'. And yet racial intermixture would not, in itself, have been sufficient to produce a nation. It is therefore most fortunate that this new mixed race of Hawaii is acquiring a common cultural background. And here we come to a point which is crucial for a proper understanding of the Hawaiian race situation, namely to the great service done by the 'dying' Hawaiian aboriginal people to all the other races that are inhabiting the islands. The Hawaiian people has become the leaven of the new Hawaiian society. Today the number of people of pure Hawaiian stock is not more than about 12,000 but the number of those who have Hawaiian blood in their veins is steadily growing. There are thousands of Chinese-Hawaiian, Japanese-Hawaiians, Filipino-Hawaiians, and Caucasian-Hawaiians as the children of marriages between people of European stock and Hawaiians are called. Every sixth inhabitant of Hawaii is at present a so-called part-Hawaiian.

By losing their own separate existence, the Hawaiians have allowed other races to inherit some of their most valuable national characteristics particularly their kindness and generosity. They have also handed over to them the most colourful aspects of their folklore. Their national festivals, the famous hula dance, and the Hawaiian cult of the flower have been taken over by practically every ethnic group. The same applies to Hawaiian history. The memory of the Hawaiian monarchy which existed until 1893 is kept in high honour by everyone. Its coat-of-arms and its flag--a quaint combination of the British Union Jack, the American Stars and Stripes, and the French Tricolore--are still in official use. Cosmopolitan Honolulu is especially aware of the value of the unifying Hawaiian tradition. A monument to the greatest Hawaiian King, Kamehameha I, the "Napoleon of the Pacific', graces the centre of the city and many of its largest streets are called after Hawaiian royalties.

Another link between the various races of Hawaii is the Hawaiian language. Although still taught in some schools and at the university, the language is dying out as an effective medium of communication, in the same way that the Hawaiian people are disappearing as a separate ethnographic entity. However, a fair number of Hawaiian words have penetrated into the English language as spoken in the Territory. A Japanese or Korean would use them in conversation as naturally as a 'Yankee' or a Portuguese. For instance, all people born in the islands, whether white, yellow, or brown, would refer to a stranger by the Hawaiian word malihini--this alone is characteristic of the feeling of solidarity and nationhood developing between the various groups.

One might be tempted to say that the racial situation in Hawaii is almost too good to be true. This was exactly the reaction of quite a number of participants at the recent Race Relations Conference in Honolulu. Some of them, and I must confess myself included, therefore did their best to find out the weak points in Hawaii's race relations. These weak points do certainly exist. For instance, it is only too apparent that the economic power in the islands is concentrated in the hands of the 'Yankees' who hold practically all managerial jobs in the big sugar and pineapple companies.

This is resented by the orientals, though not as much as it might be elsewhere since even the ordinary plantation labourer enjoys a fairly high standard of living. The fact that every third inhabitant of the islands is the owner of a motor-car speaks for itself. Even in the United States only one person in four owns his own car.

Another grievance is the housing segregation which still exists. There are a few very small areas in Honolulu which not by law but by custom have up to now, been reserved to white people. These little white 'ghettoes', an anachronism in the present situation, are gradually disappearing--mostly because there is an ever-increasing number of non-whites who can afford to purchase or rent expensive accommodation.

Religion has been in Hawaii, as in other parts of the world, both a dividing and a uniting factor. On the one hand you can see on Sundays big, inter-racial congregations both in Protestant and in Roman Catholic churches; on the other you find dozens of churches that cater for only one racial group. One denomination for instance, would maintain two churches within the same township or even village, one Filipino and one Japanese, or one Chinese and one Japanese. However, Hawaii not only has Christian churches of every description; there are also many Buddhist and Taoist temples and Shinto shrines. Although many of the young second and third-generation Japanese are Christians, Buddhism is by no means dead in the islands. There are even signs of a certain Buddhist revival among the youth. A Young Buddhist Association, which is a faithful copy of the Young Men's Christian Association, organizes a wide range of activities, from baseball matches to Sunday school. But Buddhism, too, has changed in the Hawaiian atmosphere. It is more and more adopting the English language. Certain hymns used in Buddhist services have a striking similarity to Christian hymns as sung in the churches nearby, and some Buddhist temples have even introduced pews, candles, and pulpits. A Buddhist from Japan would probably be appalled at such a sight.

There are many religious oddities in the islands. There is a small Church of the Latter Rain which proclaims the Chinese as the chosen people of the Bible. There is a tiny Japanese sect, the Association for Absolute Victory (Hisshokai) whose few supporters believe that Japan has won the war. Another sect called House of Growth (Seicho-no-ie) contains in its theological make-up a strange mixture of Buddhist, Shintoist, and Christian elements. Also the Mormons, notorious because of their former advocacy of polygamy, have gained a foothold in Hawaii. They are rather popular among the Hawaiian people to whom their doctrine gives a special status as one of the 'lost tribes of Israel'.

But although there is much religious separation in Hawaii, there is as little religious strife there as there is national and racial antagonism. This peaceful blending of races and cultures in the islands is bound to impress even the most critical and skeptical visitor. The inscription over the entrance to the university campus, 'Over all nations is mankind', really does express a living reality. This is a tremendous achievement, even if it is aided by a number of particularly favourable economic, political, and geographical circumstances.

INTERRACIAL TRENDS AND THE DESEGREGATION DECISION

Lee M. Brooks

In 1927, Dr. Clark Wissler, eminent anthropologist, remarked as we walked together on the campus of the University of North Carolina: "Watch Hawaii--there the interracial processes are on the move; it's a natural laboratory of human relations; there's something cosmic about it." Just twenty years later in 1947-48 and again for a few months in 1955, I was to see something of these interrelations from the vantage point of the University of Hawaii whose Romanzo Adams and Andrew Lind had written books and articles that were especially stimulating for Southern students. Racial intermarriage and amalgamation were indeed provocative topics.

Supporters of lagging democracy in our country have been troubled; they have been asking serious questions. What about social and economic justice and educational opportunity? They were aware that no region of our country had been free from blundering in some aspect of ethnic relations, a blundering that was too often a gross departure from practical as well as from ideal democracy. Nor was Hawaii blameless. Its interracial contacts were, however, relatively smooth compared to the roughness on the Mainland. Writers and teachers, including courageous newspaper editors of recent years, have been extraordinarily influential in promoting allegiance to fact and principle rather than to fallacious tradition.

The Supreme Court Decision

On May 17, 1954 the United States Supreme Court released the long awaited decision on segregation in the public schools. Its unanimous ruling was set forth clearly and forcefully in these words:

> We conclude that in the field of Public Education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the fourteenth amendment.

The change, to be made "forthwith," was to take place in seventeen states and the District of Columbia where segregation was required by law, and in four other states where it was permitted in varying degrees. Less directly affected by this decision were the eleven states where there were no specific laws requiring segregation and the sixteen states in which it was prohibited.

The Background

First, a brief glance at the history of the Mainland's racial patterns. It is the Negro problem, especially in the South, that has been for years not only most spectacularly before the nation but also a matter of confusion and adverse propaganda abroad. Pieced quickly together the picture is something like this: a slowly evolving condition of slavery, a rationalized "evil" becoming a biblically supported "good"; a pattern of life that was emotionally promoted in the South, and bitterly opposed in the North after it had died out as a practical economic possibility; fanaticism flaring on the slavery issue in politics, economics, and religion; Civil War; Lincoln's courageous

counsel, ignored by his Cabinet and others, about helping the South out of the ashes; resumption of emotion and extremism compounded in cumulatively bad decisions with destructive "Reconstruction," angry Northern voices drowning out the moderate leadership of the South; progressive unrest and tension and poverty; erosional processes cutting deeply into the foundations of land and men, of economics and education, of politics and religion. Since the Civil War the South has been most seriously affected by: low income, high birth rate, high infant death rate, poor agriculture, excessive tenancy, inferior schools, uneducated ministry, plentiful demagoguery, one-party politics, and calculated economic exploitation by the North. The South's great scholar, the late Howard W. Odum, in his definitive works on regionalism referred to his native area as afflicted with "cumulative deficiencies and multiple handicaps." However, the South in recent years has been moving with more vigor into improved status among the nation's regions. The lag is being reduced. In many of the characteristics mentioned above the South has been taking on a new look.

To those who have been watching developments in the South and the nation, the Supreme Court's decision was not a great surprise except possibly for its unanimity. Abolition of the "separate but equal" idea seemed to be the trend. Notable has been desegregation in railway trains. The white primary has been ruled out. Soldiers have returned from the Korean war to tell of the successful integration of whites and Negroes in fighting units. Educational improvements have been accelerated: better school buildings and longer school terms for Negroes and equalization of teachers' salaries in several states. By 1954 twenty-five publicly supported colleges and universities in the South were admitting Negro students on the graduate and professional levels, and from only five state universities were they excluded.

Reaction in the South

At this writing (spring 1955) there is much loud reassertive shouting of the Southern dogmas, mainly by politicians, in the deep South. History is repeating itself in emotionality. There is a mood of "no compromise" and rebellion that sounds like the Northern anti-slavery extremist, Charles Sumner, on the slavery issue a century ago when, upon being reminded that he might be "forgetting the other side," he shouted, "There is no other side!"[1] Today we may read comparable statements made in connection with briefs submitted to the Supreme Court by some Southern states. South Carolina's spokesman for Clarendon County in reply to a query from Chief Justice Warren is quoted in part: "I would have to tell you that right now we would not conform; we would not send our children to the Negro schools."[2] To a meeting of County Commissioners in Georgia, Governor Griffin is reported as saying:

[1]Interestingly enough, the first school segregation case occurred in Boston in 1849. The famous Charles Sumner pointed out to the Court that his Negro client, a girl named Roberts, had to walk 2,100 feet to attend her classes while the white school was only 800 feet from her door. The decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court was adverse but by 1855 the legislature passed a statute specifically prohibiting segregation in the public schools. See H. S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 4-5.

[2]TIME magazine, April 25, 1955, p. 18.

> Georgia would not mix the races in schools forthwith or fifty years hence. It is hoped that the Supreme Court will realize the enormity of its error and rectify the grievous mistake it has made.[3]

Predictions of calamity and chaos are, of course, to be expected from those who fear, or pretend to fear departure from tradition. Facts and new knowledge they do not recognize. "We have no racial problem in Georgia," said former Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia on the Youth Wants To Know radio program at which time he also enlightened the youth by stating that "racial amalgamation has destroyed the best qualities of both races wherever two races have lived together over a great period of time, except in a state of segregation."[4] The students reminded him that where integration has already begun in our country it has been carried on without great disturbance. Emotional bias runs so strong in the racial reactions of some of our people South and North that reason skids off the road.

In contrast to those who cry chaos are the steadying voices of Southern editors, religious leaders, and teachers.

From editor Jonathan Daniels of North Carolina comes a warning a month before the Supreme Court decision was released. Of those who manufacture furies he has this to say:

> The Governor of Georgia will not get out his militia to resist the declared law of the land. The South has been to Appomattox. More important, its men have been to . . . Okinawa and Korea. The Governor of South Carolina will not end public education in the South where it is needed more than anywhere else in America. . . .The one thing we cannot afford on this earth at this time is to let our fears overcome our faith. . . . We will be more secure in the world when the least and the last among us walks as his right in dignity and pride.

With similar vision, editor Hodding Carter deep in Mississippi has been urging a cool stocktaking in his state where so many counties have more Negroes than whites. Mark Ethridge of Kentucky refers to the white citizens' Councils that have recently sprung up in the South as "nothing more than uptown Ku Klux Klans (despite the feelings of their respectable sponsors) dedicated to defeating segregation 'by means short of violence'."[5]

Biblical scholar, Mason Crum of Duke University and a native of South Carolina, grandson of a Confederate soldier, has this to say:

> I have been unable to become very disturbed about the decision. Nor have I found many others alarmed over its implications. You may talk to farmers, laborers, trainmen, and professional people, and they will generally agree that the decision was inevitable and right. There is, of course, some loose talk motivated by deep-seated prejudice which has over the years formed our culture pattern. . . .I believe that most southern people are willing to tackle the problem and meet what is

[3]Associated Press release, April 28, 1955.

[4]Youth Wants To Know radio program, September 12, 1954.

[5]Ethridge, Mark. "A Publisher's Diagnosis," The Saturday Review, April 30, 1955, p. 10.

perhaps the most momentous situation since Emancipation. . . . The greatest fear in the South is social equality or compulsory intermingling. But the decision has nothing to do with personal social relations; it is aimed at equality of opportunity in tax supported educational institutions. . . .

Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant church bodies in the South have greeted the decision with positive and constructive pronouncements and recommendations: "open the doors," "outlawing segregation in the public schools is just and right," "the decision offers to the churches a distinctive opportunity to give positive expression to the cherished ideals of Christianity." Such expressions come from representatives of leading denominations.

Beginnings Toward Desegregation

Some two dozen communities bordering the South from New Jersey through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to New Mexico and Arizona are reported as already having achieved integration without disaster though not without some pain and protest.[6] Some of these areas and communities are deeply Southern in feeling. Most of them undertook the integration of their public schools under the compulsion of state laws. The percentage of Negro population in these communities varies from very small to substantial. Institutions of higher learning in the South have made the transition from complete segregation to some degree of integration without a single serious incident of interracial friction despite predictions of violence.

In regard to student and pupil reactions already ascertainable where integration has occurred, close study of almost thirty publicly supported colleges and universities by Guy B. Johnson in 1953-54 reveals that "the bugaboo of 'social equality' has apparently not disturbed very many students in a serious way." To continue Dr. Johnson's remarks--and it should be emphasized that this Texas-born scholar has been a leading authority on race relations in America for more than thirty years:

> In campus relations between white and Negro students, new patterns of interaction have been quickly learned. Going to class together, eating in the same dining halls, living in the same dormitories, taking part in all sorts of campus affairs together--all these have been accepted and taken in stride as a part of the business of going to school. To say that all is love and harmony on the co-racial campuses would be to go beyond the truth. There are anxieties and frictions as an inevitable accompaniment of the new adjustments which have to be made, and the Negro students have some special problems of discrimination, academic competition, and morale; but the fact remains that the process of integration is well on the way. The prognosis is good.[7]

[6] Williams, R. W. and Margaret W. Ryan. Schools in Transition. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954)

[7] Johnson, Guy B. "Racial Integration in Public Higher Education in the South," Journal of Negro Education, Summer Issue, 1954, p. 329.

Is it pertinent to inquire whether there are implications or questions in the foregoing quotation that apply to the University of Hawaii campus and perhaps to interactions within the wider Hawaiian community?

In the lower schools where segregation had been relaxed or abandoned in recent years, pupil-to-pupil friction between whites and Negroes generally has been slight.

> A reiterated comment from nearly all communities was that if the parents did not interfere, the children got along all right. What evidence there is points to an impersonal friendliness in school and school-related activities, along with some withdrawal to like-groups after school. . . .In a sizeable but unknown proportion of instances Negro pupils have been hurt or embarrassed by deliberate remarks or unwitting "slips" on the part of white teachers.[8]

At the teacher-student level, these authors point out, the children become not so many Negroes and whites as children who are to be taught. There is some evidence that Negro high school students perform better in and out of school when the faculties are at least partially integrated.

As to the problem of using Negro and white teachers with bi-racial classes, studies show that in the actual situation of faculty integration, where it has been tried, professional standards soon take precedence over previous racial attitudes. It should be emphasized that in these border situations a variety of patterns has been tried from dismissal of Negro teachers to an apparently successful bi-racial faculty. Here is a specially serious problem for the deeper South.

Questions of Time and Timing

It must of course be recognized that the transition from segregation to racial co-education is not likely to be made without strains and difficult compromise. The more moderate minds in the South indicate the need for time in revising administrative procedures and in gaining public acceptance. The word "forthwith" in the decision gives them sincere concern.

Most directly involved are the states of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware, and the District of Columbia. Except for Kansas, segregation has been required by law in these and fourteen other states, Kansas being one of four permitting segregation in varying degrees. Other states concerned have also been given the opportunity to submit Amicus Curiae briefs to the Supreme Court of the United States. This has been done by several Southern states with much distress about the word "forthwith." Reasons are set forth for allowing time to make a gradual adjustment to desegregation; broad powers of discretion are wanted by local school authorities to determine procedures.

Certain of these briefs make interesting reading from the research standpoint. For example, Florida's brief shows that in gathering data from peace officers and school officials, care was given to wording so as to reduce to the minimum the "loading" or biasing of questions. Some of the presentations have consciously or unconsciously failed to avoid the "You-expect-to-have-trouble-don't you?" type of query. Central in the

[8] Williams and Ryan, op. cit., pp. 244-246.

presentations and urgings from the South is the plea for time. On the other hand the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People urged a deadline for complete integration not later than September, 1956. Doubtless the Court is wrestling with one of the most difficult problems it has ever faced. It is expected that the decision on time allowance and the part, if any, that will be played by District Courts, will be set forth by the middle of 1956.

To delay, to circumvent the decision, or somehow to set up roadblocks has been clearly the intention of some of the Southern states. These five proposals aim at continued separation: A system of private schools, individual assignment of all students to particular schools, free transfer of students among schools in the district, gerrymandering of school districts, and a tri-school proposal involving an all-Negro, an all-white, and an integrated school--thus in this fifth proposal, the parents and children could elect which one to attend. Space forbids any attempt, however brief, to discuss these devices to avoid the decision's plain meaning. Supporters of segregation refer to the 10th Amendment to the United States, to many federal and state court decisions, and then conclude in support of their viewpoint that the decision of May, 1954 was inconsistent, unreasonable, and political rather than judicial. Objectively viewed, the legal aspects of integration cannot be fully determined without reference to sociological, economic, and political realities. Recognizing this, the Supreme Court deferred a determination as to ways and means of implementing its decision. But the overarching ultimate is that a segregated school system is a denial of equal protection of the laws. Dean John T. Fey of George Washington University Law School sees the five circumventive devices as likely to be challenged legally as "state action." The "performance by private parties of a governmental function makes them a state instrumentality." Attempts to support legally, private political primaries and private restrictive covenants have lost in the Courts since 1947. This "state action" point of view pertains particularly to the proposal for private schools. To quote Dean Fey directly:

> Plans used during the transition which conflict with the decided cases can only be regarded as temporary expedients. There can be no permanent forestalling of integration in view of existing decisions. The findings are clear--only the methods and timing present uncertainity. . . .[9]

Briefly and concretely here are a few problems: Bus transportation: safety is paramount and related to discipline among pupils; the problems of merging what amounts to two bus systems into one system are considerable. Health and Welfare: a special problem in districts heavily populated by underprivileged Negroes, the rural areas and small towns with wide differences in standards of hygiene, sanitation, health care, housing, etc.--there is the reasonable call for patience and time to bridge such gaps. Achievement levels: in smaller schools where students cannot easily be divided according to achievement levels the arbitrary placing of pupils could, says the State of Flordia brief:

> Only result in lowering the scholastic standards of the entire school and adding to the problems of discipline and instructional procedures. The Negro student would suffer if compelled to compete against white students of the same age but whose achievement level was two or three grades higher, and the white students would be seriously retarded.

The foregoing are but mere mention of a few of the problems that must be confronted and for which the states concerned ask for time.

To those who would say that the South has for many years stalled and delayed, procrastinating against the inevitable, one can only voice agreement. But now the order has been given, construction must be started toward unsegregated and equal opportunity for all in public education.

The folkway front in the march toward fuller democracy has developed enough salients stretching toward the American ideal, it would seem, to make possible the carrying through of the firm decision now before us.

The "give us time" emphasis is important; it must be heeded and sincerely related to the problem. But as more than one Southern clergyman has expressed it: "Time? we've had plenty of it, and to our shame we must admit that the most segregated hour in America is church time on Sunday morning. Oh, I know, I've heard again and again the rationalization, 'but everyone, especially Negroes, likes to be with his own kind, you know.' That isn't the point at all. Our fellowships have been determined by color and not by merit. We've followed slavish folkways and traditions instead of being out in front as our Founder was 1,900 years ago. Yes, and today courageous ministers and judges can be verbally crucified or suffer by dark exclusion in what is otherwise an enlightened community. We've had time enough." Barriers do not easily come down in the minds of men when they have been built up over many years with cultural and group reinforcements. Emotions, mixed with rationalizations, inevitably misdirect the intellectual processes. A Southern-born white lady abruptly left the dining car when the Negro was seated at her table between Chicago and Minneapolis. Shortly afterward she sought him out in the train and with tears in her eyes apologized: "No human being should do to another what I did to you; my intellect told me what to do but my emotions wouldn't let me do it; will you please forgive me?" The eminent professor from a Southern University assured her that he quite fully understood. They shared conversation in a seat together for the next hour.

Things have been happening in schools and colleges, in camps and conferences of young people, and in shell holes and trenches. It would seem that many of yesterday's children and youth in all parts of America have been quietly led up and out, educated so that they have been a major influence, incalculable to be sure, but influential in today's progress in more fully realized democracy. On the other hand unfortunately, there have passed through our colleges and professional schools too many whose minds have not learned the facts and whose vision has not been lifted and whose feet dare not step out of traditional ruts.

Time has thus far brought too few changes, too slow a movement in meeting the basic educational needs of American Negroes. That so many have achieved so much is testimony to their abilities and to the fact that in parts of the nation the doors of opportunity have opened wide for them. In science and literature, in professional sports, in police work, on school boards, in legislative bodies, and finally in grand opera, in all these and more the Negro has become a participant. Some Southern states have equalized teachers' salaries. A few communities have better schools for Negroes than for whites. But for the great mass of Negro children there is still deep deprivation and stark inequality.

[9]Fey, John T. "A Legal View of Segregation Plans," in Changing Patterns in the New South. (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, January 1955), p. 113.

The seriousness of a people's problems is directly related to the effectiveness of their educational institutions. Public education is the indispensable of democracy. No American ever saw this more clearly than did Thomas Jefferson. Yet in his ante-bellum South little interest had been shown in universal education. The small upper classes had instruction at home or in private academies; most of the whites had little schooling; Negroes had no schools at all and still more noteworthy, in some Southern states teaching slaves to read and write was officially a crime. A century and a half have passed since Jefferson and one wonders what his thoughts and judgments would be today in the decision of the Supreme Court on the meaning of the Constitution which he always viewed as an instrument that should possess the dynamics of the country's needs.

Hawaii Is Involved

Hawaii, missionized and schooled under New England tradition emphatic of education; Hawaii free from the gross historic blunders, the formal restrictions and discriminations that have afflicted the rest of the nation, has a right to feel humbly thankful for the rather full measure of democracy it has enjoyed. Many adjustments have had to be made; more yet are in the making. Apart from some economic abuses by employers and workers, Hawaii's basic institutions have shown the world something of the meaning of the American Dream. But Hawaii is not yet paradise. The challenge here, on the Mainland, and throughout the democratic world is to remove that which remains in paradox. The road ahead, the communication lines, and above all the vision must be kept clear. There is much travelling to do toward the essentials of equality and the fullness of cooperation.

INTER-ETHNIC FRIENDSHIP AND DATING PATTERNS

Douglas S. Yamamura and Raymond E. Sakumoto

The polyethnic Hawaiian community has been the focus of considerable interest among students of race relations. The multi-ethnic composition and established traditions of tolerance of this island community provide an intriguing setting for the study of patterns of inter-ethnic relations. These patterns are revealed in part by the close friendship and dating behavior of members of these various groups in Hawaii. This is a preliminary report of an investigation of the inter-ethnic patterns of friendship and dating among 605 undergraduate students of the University of Hawaii.[1]

Basic to the structure of the inter-ethnic relations within any community are the relations which exist between the individuals of the various ethnic groups and the extent of mutual willingness to establish social contacts of varying degrees of intimacy. The American experience with immigrants in multi-ethnic contact situations suggests that there is the tendency for incoming alien groups to congregate initially in relatively homogeneous ethnic and cultural blocs in segregated residential areas. In this initial period of adjustment, minimal types of social contacts with the larger community are established by the immigrant group. Other outstanding characteristics are strong group pressures to restrict and confine intimate social contacts to their own ethno-cultural group and the considerable effort exerted to maintain traditional cultural patterns.[2]

With the passage of time and the growth of the second generation, the policy of free public education widens the social contacts of the immigrant children in the public schools. The circular reactions of the widening contacts of children of immigrants in our public schools and the rising educational level with broadened economic opportunities result in an integration of these groups in the larger community. In this process, a gradual erasing of ethnic designations has been brought out among the European populations in the United States.

The Hawaiian situation is fairly unique in that there has been a growing tendency for cultural and physical miscegenation among Asiatics, Europeans, and Polynesians. Though the process is far from complete, studies of the cultural patterns of the ethno-cultural groups and inter-marriages among these groups in Hawaii indicate a rising tempo of change in both areas. These changes, if uninterrupted, would eventually end in the creation of a culture which will be a blend of the Euro-American, Polynesian, and Asiatic elements and in the development of a physical type which will be a composite of the diverse groups now present in Hawaii.

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[1] Interviews were conducted by members of the class in Research Methods (Sociology 282) during the first and the second semesters of the academic year 1954-55. The bulk of the preliminary tabulations reported in this study were also made by the members of the class.

[2] This is applicable particularly to groups that have migrated into the United States as family units with a fairly even proportion of the sexes. Groups comprising young, unmarried males (as the early Chinese and Filipino migrants to Hawaii) in the absence of community pressures, were more amenable to intimate out-group associations.

Conceptually, the varying types of cross-ethnic association may be classified arbitrarily into the following categories along a continuum of degree of intimacy of contact: (1) knowledge of and casual acquaintance with members of the out-group; (2) close friendship with out-group individuals; (3) out-dating; (4) engagement with an out-group individual; (5) out-group marriage. In frequency of contact across inter-ethnic lines in a polyethnic community, knowledge of and casual acquaintance with individuals of the various out-groups would be expected more frequently than close friendships; close friendships, more frequently than out-dating; and out-dating, in turn, more frequently than engagement and marriage across ethnic lines. This initial study is an attempt to estimate the extent of inter-ethnic friendships among the students of the University of Hawaii and the relationships, if any, between friendship and dating patterns of these students along ethnic lines. For purposes of the study, five ethnic groups--the Hawaiian,[3] Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese were selected for study.[4]

Friendship Patterns

All students were asked to describe five of their very best friends.[5] Table 1 presents the distribution of the close friends of the 605 respondents by ethnic background. Of the 2806 friends mentioned by these students of various ethnic backgrounds, 1666 or 59.4 per cent were individuals who belonged to the ethnic background of the respondent and represent the in-group choices. Ethnically, the ratio of in-group friends of the respondents varies thus: 78.9 per cent for the Japanese; 60.5 per cent for the Caucasian; 47.2 per cent for the Chinese; 43.1 per cent for the Hawaiian; and 32.8 per cent for the Filipino students. On the other hand, if the ethnic backgrounds of the close friends mentioned by the 605 students are considered, the proportion of in-group friends is lowered to 64.5 per cent and 55.4 per cent for the Japanese and Caucasian groups respectively, while the proportions of in-group friends rise to 53.3 per cent for the Filipino and for the Hawaiian students respectively, and 61.8 per cent for the Chinese students.

[3]Includes Part Hawaiians.

[4]These were the major groups in the University population. The groups were classified according to the reported ethnic background of father and mother. The Territorial Board of Health definitions were utilized in the classification of respondents. Under this definition, anyone reporting a fraction of Hawaiian was classified as Hawaiian. The Caucasian group is presumed pure. Thus, a Japanese-Caucasian was classified as Japanese. On the other hand, the inter-mixtures of the Oriental groups were classified according to the ethnic background of the father.

[5]These friendships were not confined to the student population of the University.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CLOSE FRIENDS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Ethnic Background of Respondents	Ethnic Background of Friends						Total
	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Others	
Hawaiian	188	86	42	17	91	12	436
Caucasian	43	237	27	9	70	6	392
Chinese	48	39	307	20	221	16	651
Filipino	23	25	28	80	85	3	244
Japanese	51	41	93	24	854	20	1083
Total	353	428	497	150	1321	57	2806

An evaluation of the friendship choices along ethnic lines can be made by taking into consideration the total number of choices made and the total number of choices received by each of the ethnic groups. Assuming a random choice of friends, Table 2 presents the theoretically expected frequency distribution of close friends of the respondents by ethnic background. The actual in-group choices of the sample of students can be more adequately evaluated on the basis of the expected frequency of in-group friends.

TABLE 2

EXPECTED FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF FRIENDS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Ethnic Background of Respondents	Ethnic Background of Friends						Total
	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Others	
Hawaiian	55	67	77	23	205	9	436
Caucasian	49	60	70	21	184	8	392
Chinese	82	99	116	34	307	13	651
Filipino	31	37	43	13	115	5	244
Japanese	136	165	191	59	510	22	1083
Total	353	428	497	150	1321	57	2806

Table 3 presents the actual and expected proportions of in-group friendship choices of the 605 students by ethnic background.

TABLE 3

ACTUAL AND EXPECTED PROPORTIONS OF IN-GROUP FRIENDS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Ethnic Background	Observed % of In-Group Friends	Expected % of In-Group Friends
Hawaiian	43.1	12.6
Caucasian	60.5	15.3
Chinese	47.2	17.8
Filipino	32.8	8.7
Japanese	78.9	47.1
Total	59.4	26.9

The friendships between individuals of the various ethnic groups may be conceptualized in terms of a continuum with the extreme ideal points being (1) complete in-group choices of friends by the entire population; (2) complete out-group choices by the entire population. The intermediate point would be represented by a random choice of friends irrespective of ethnic backgrounds.[6] Because of the differences in the sizes of the various populations under study, an index of cross-ethnic association was constructed on the basis of information presented in Table 3. This index is based on the difference between the observed and expected proportions of inter-ethnic friendship choices scaled to a value of 100.[7] Thus, complete in-group choices on the part of all ethnic groups would represent a value of 100, while complete out-group choices would have a value of x-100 and completely random choice of friends across all ethnic lines would have a value of 0. On this basis, the extent of cross-ethnic associations of the entire student group is represented by the index number of 44.5; for the Japanese, 60.1; Caucasian, 53.3; Hawaiian, 34.9; Chinese, 35.8; and Filipino, 26.5.

The previous discussion was primarily concerned with the ethnic background of the gross number of close friends mentioned by the students of the various ethnic extractions represented in the University of Hawaii student population. Table 4, on the other hand, presents the inter-ethnic friendship pattern for each of the 605 students in the present sample. The defined friendship patterns categories are: (1) no friends; (2) in-group friends--all friends belonging to the ethnic classification of the respondent; (3) mixed friends--friends consisting of individuals of both the respondent's ethnic classification and the other ethnic stocks; (4) out-group friends--all friends outside of the ethnic classification of the respondents. When classified into the defined friendship pattern categories, 22 per cent of the 605

[6]This is probably the type of relationship towards which all groups concerned with desirable race relations in any community are working.

[7]The formula for this index is as follows: $\text{Observed \%} - \text{Expected \%} \times \frac{100}{100 - \text{Exp. \%}}$

students had only in-group friendship circles; 67.4 per cent had friends of mixed ethnic background; 9.9 per cent could be regarded as having out-group friends only; and 7 per cent reported no friends. If we consider both the mixed and out-group friends categories, the figures reveal that 77.3 per cent of the students had close friends cutting across ethnic lines. Internally, 91.6 per cent of the Hawaiian, 81.2 per cent of the Caucasian, 37.9 per cent of the Chinese, 94.8 per cent of the Filipino, and 59 per cent of the Japanese students had close friends that cut across the ethnic lines.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Friendship Patterns	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Total
None	0	2.4	.7	0	.4	.7
In-Group	8.4	16.5	11.4	5.2	40.6	22.0
Mixed	66.3	70.6	80.7	67.2	58.6	67.4
Out-Group	25.3	10.5	7.2	27.6	.4	9.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	95	85	140	58	227	605

A crude index of in-group association is the proportion of the respondents in the sample who have close friends only within their own ethnic group.[8] Complete in-group association, from this point of view, would be represented by 100, while complete cross-ethnic association to the exclusion of in-group friends would be represented by an index of 0. On the basis of this index, the in-group association for the entire student group is represented by an index of 22.0; for the Japanese, 40.6; Chinese, 11.4; Caucasian, 16.5; Hawaiian, 8.4; and Filipino, 5.2. The Japanese, with the largest representation in the sample, reflect the greatest propensity toward in-group friendship circles, while the Filipino students, comprising the smallest ethnic population, show the greatest tendency toward out-group friends.

For purposes of the present research, sex differences in friendship patterns along ethnic lines also were analyzed. Table 6 presents the percentage distribution of friendship patterns of the 605 students by ethnic background and sex. There were minor differences in the inter-ethnic patterns of friendship by sex. For the total population, there was a slightly greater propensity for the males to belong to in-group friendship circles than the females. In an ethnic breakdown, the Oriental males--Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino--and the Caucasian females tended to have larger proportions of in-group friendship circles than the Oriental females and the

[8]It is recognized that this index fails to take into consideration the proportions within the mixed and the out-group categories. A further refinement would be to tabulate the number of in and out-friends among those who are classified as Mixed and differentiate the population in terms of the proportions of in-group friends. This refinement would make the analysis comparable to the analysis of the gross number of friends. However, for the first approximation of in-group association, it is felt that the present index serves its purpose.

Caucasian males respectively. Conversely, the Caucasian males and the Oriental females tended to have a larger proportion of their numbers having cross-ethnic friendship circles. The Hawaiian males and females showed no significant difference in the patterns of cross-ethnic associations.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND SEX

Friendship Patterns	Hawaiian		Caucasian		Chinese		Filipino		Japanese		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
None	0.0	0.0	2.1	2.6	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.6	0.7
In-Group	8.5	8.3	12.8	21.1	17.2	5.7	9.1	0.0	44.0	36.9	24.3	19.5
Mixed	59.6	72.9	74.5	65.8	75.7	85.7	63.6	72.0	56.0	61.3	64.5	70.5
Out-Group	31.9	18.8	10.6	10.5	5.7	8.6	27.3	28.0	0.0	0.0	10.6	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	47	48	47	38	70	70	33	25	116	111	313	292

Dating Patterns

In the interviews, all of the 605 students were also asked to describe individuals they had dated during the previous semester as well as to describe their friends. Table 7 reports the frequency distribution of the ethnic background of dates by the ethnic background of the respondents. Of the 605 students, 508 or 84 per cent of the respondents reported at least one date during the previous semester. These 508 students further reported 1284 individuals as dates. Of the 1284 dates reported by these students, 808 or 62.9 per cent were in-group dates or individuals who belonged to the ethnic group of the respondents. The proportions of the in-group dates varied thus: 80.2 per cent for the Japanese, 69.7 per cent for the Caucasian, 62.2 per cent for the Chinese, 41.9 per cent for the Hawaiian, and 37.6 per cent for the Filipino students. On the other hand, if the ethnic background of the individuals dated are considered, the percentages of in-group dates for the Japanese and Caucasian are lowered to 67.9 per cent and 59.4 per cent respectively, while the proportions rise to 54.2 per cent for the Hawaiian, 67.9 per cent for the Chinese, and 65.4 per cent for the Filipino students.

TABLE 7

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF DATES BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

Ethnic Backgrounds of Respondents	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Other	Total
Hawaiian	96	6	30	12	26	3	229
Caucasian	24	168	14	4	27	4	241
Chinese	16	14	171	4	61	9	275
Filipino	20	22	7	53	37	1	140
Japanese	21	17	30	8	320	3	399
Total	177	283	252	81	471	20	1284

In order to evaluate the extent of in-group dates of the various ethnic groups more adequately, an expected frequency distribution was calculated by utilizing the number of choices made and received by each of the groups. Table 8 reports the observed and the expected proportions of in-group dates by ethnic groups. Utilizing the index of cross-ethnic association for dating,

TABLE 8

OBSERVED AND EXPECTED PROPORTIONS OF IN-GROUP DATES BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Ethnic Background	Observed % of In-Group Dates	Expected % of In-Group Dates
Hawaiian	41.9	14.0
Caucasian	69.7	22.0
Chinese	62.2	19.6
Filipino	37.6	6.4
Japanese	80.2	36.6
Total	62.9	22.9

the entire student group is represented by an index number of 46.0; the Japanese, 68.9; Caucasian, 54.5; Chinese, 52.8; Hawaiian, 32.4; and the Filipino students, 33.4. Relatively speaking, the Japanese students showed the greatest tendency toward in-group dating, while the Hawaiian and Filipino students showed the greatest propensity toward out-group dating.

Table 9 presents the percentage distribution of the individual patterns of dating by the ethnic background of the respondents. The defined patterns are categorized as (1) no dating; (2) in-group dating; (3) mixed-group dating; (4) out-group dating. Approximately one-sixth (16 per cent) of the students reported no dates in the previous semester; 39.2 per cent reported in-group dates only; and 44.8 per cent reported cross-ethnic dates. Internally, approximately one-fifth of both the Japanese and Filipino students had no dates while 13.6 per cent of the Chinese, 12.6 per cent of the Hawaiian, and 9.3 per cent of the Caucasian students reported no dates. The Japanese students reported the highest proportion of individuals (55.1 per cent) who had in-group dates; the Caucasian and the Chinese students held intermediate positions with in-date proportions of 38.8 per cent and 37.1 per cent respectively. The Hawaiian and the Filipino in-date proportions were 20.0 per cent and 13.8 per cent respectively. Conversely, the highest proportion (67.4 per cent) of cross-ethnic dating was reported by the Hawaiian students followed rather closely by a cross-ethnic dating proportion of 65.5 per cent for the Filipino group. The Caucasian had a cross-ethnic dating proportion of 51.9; the Chinese, 49.3; and the Japanese, 24.6.

A crude index of in-group associations in terms of dating is the proportion of respondents in the sample who date only within their ethnic group. If we distributed the individuals in the sample who had no dates into the dating categories in the same general proportions as reflected by those who did date, the index of in-group association for dating becomes 46.7 per cent for the entire group; 69.1 per cent for the Japanese; 43.0 per cent for the Chinese; 42.9 per cent for the Caucasian; 22.9 per cent for the Hawaiian; and 17.4 per cent for the Filipino students.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DATING PATTERNS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Dating Patterns	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Total
No Dates	12.6	9.3	13.6	20.7	20.3	16.0
In-Dates	20.0	38.8	37.1	13.8	55.1	39.2
Mixed-Dates	40.0	36.5	35.0	48.3	16.3	30.2
Out-Dates	27.4	15.4	14.3	17.2	8.3	14.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	95	85	140	58	227	605

Table 10 presents the percentage distribution of dating patterns by sex and ethnic background. The figures reveal that a significantly higher proportion of the males had no dates, while an approximately equal proportion had in-dates, and thus, a significantly lower proportion of the males dated across racial lines. Internally, the Caucasian, Filipino, and Chinese males had significantly higher proportions of no dates than their female counterparts. Among the Japanese students, the males were significantly higher in the proportion that in-dated than the females. The Japanese group as a whole had a relatively high proportion of the population that reported no dates. The Filipino male population had a significantly greater proportion who did not date across ethnic lines than their female population. The Filipino and the Japanese females reciprocally showed a greater tendency than their male counterparts to date across ethnic lines. Though the males exhibited less tendency toward dating than the females among the Chinese, the former exhibited less tendency than the females toward in-group dating. The proportion of cross-ethnic dating for the two sex groups among the Chinese showed no significant differences in proportions. The Caucasian males exhibited less tendency toward dating than the females, a significantly greater tendency toward in-group dating and also a tendency toward out-group dating. The Hawaiian females tended to show a significantly greater tendency than the Hawaiian males toward in-group dating as well as completely out-group dating, while the males showed a significantly greater tendency toward mixed-group dating.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DATING PATTERNS BY SEX & ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Dating Patterns	Hawaiian		Caucasian		Chinese		Filipino		Japanese		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
None	14.9	10.4	12.8	5.3	17.2	10.0	27.3	12.0	20.7	19.8	18.5	13.4
In-Group	8.5	31.3	42.6	34.2	35.7	38.6	15.2	12.0	59.5	50.5	39.3	39.0
Mixed	53.2	27.0	27.6	47.4	31.4	38.6	45.4	42.0	12.9	12.8	28.8	31.8
Out-Group	23.4	31.3	17.0	13.1	15.7	12.8	12.1	24.0	6.9	9.9	13.4	15.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	47	48	47	38	70	70	33	25	116	111	313	292

Relationship Between Friendship and Dating

It was assumed at the outset that the character of the friendship patterns is directly related to the character of the dating patterns. Table 11 presents the cross tabulation of friendship patterns for the entire group. The contingency coefficient of .39 indicates a fair degree of correlation between the patterns of friendship and the dating patterns of the students at the University of Hawaii.[9]

TABLE 11

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS AND DATING PATTERNS OF U.H. STUDENTS

Friendship Patterns	Dating Patterns				
	No Date	In-Group	Mixed	Out-Group	Total
No Friends	3	-	-	1	4
In-Group	26	85	15	7	133
Mixed	55	146	152	55	408
Out-Group	13	6	16	25	60
Total	97	237	183	80	605

Table 12 presents the index of in-group association for friendship and dating by ethnic background of the respondents. Complete in-group associations and complete out-group associations are represented by the index of

TABLE 12

INDEX OF IN-GROUP ASSOCIATION FOR FRIENDSHIP AND DATING BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

Ethnic Background	In-Group Friendship	In-Group Dating
Hawaiian	8.4	22.9
Caucasian	16.5	42.9
Chinese	11.4	43.0
Filipino	5.2	17.4
Japanese	40.6	69.1
Total	22.0	46.7

[9]Corrected for the number of cells, the contingency coefficient is raised to .45.

100 and 0 respectively. The data rather clearly indicate that cross-ethnic friendships are much more frequent than cross-ethnic dates. The initial conceptualization of the relative positions of close friendships and dating on a continuum of intimacy of cross-ethnic contacts tends to be supported.

Conclusion. The patterns of cross-ethnic relations in Hawaii, traditionally based on a minimum of social disapproval of the free intermingling of the various ethnic groups, has led to the gradual social integration of these diverse elements in the Hawaiian population. Though the process is very far from complete, data from the students of the University of Hawaii indicate the following trends. There is (1) a considerable movement toward more intimate cross-ethnic associations. (2) The disposition is greater among the numerically larger groups toward frequent in-group associations than among the smaller groups. This may be a function of both the availability of friends and dates as well as of the social control that the larger groups are capable of maintaining over relations in these areas. (3) With minor exceptions, the females tend to have cross-ethnic friendships and dates in greater proportions than the males. (4) The patterns of inter-ethnic friendships are closely related to the patterns of inter-ethnic dating. Individuals reporting cross-ethnic friendships tend more frequently to date cross-ethnically.

The present situation reflects some disposition on the part of the diverse ethnic groups in Hawaii to confine their close personal associations within their own ethnic groups. However, the present structure of inter-ethnic relations represents a considerable movement from the initial self-imposed social segregation of incoming immigrant groups toward more frequent equalitarian cross-ethnic associations. Barring unforeseen events that may divide the community, the tempo of change towards the complete amalgamation and assimilation of the diverse elements of the Hawaiian population will increase as the third and fourth generation come of age.

A SOCIOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE PORTUGUESE FOLK DANCE

Yukiko Kimura

In June and July, 1954, a local newspaper[1] carried articles publicizing the Portuguese Folk Dance Festival to be shown to the public under the auspices of the Kapahulu Social Club. The articles indicated that this program was part of the effort to revive for the first time the folk dances brought by the Portuguese. This publicity caught the attention of this writer because of its sharp contrast to the generally recognized effort on the part of the Portuguese to lose their identity as Portuguese. Subsequently, this writer made further observation of this new social phenomenon when she attended the Portuguese Folk Dance Festival. At the Festival, men and women, young and old, in their graceful costumes with the colors representing different areas of Portugal and the Madeira Islands performed various dances of their old country accompanied by a band and the singing in Portuguese by special singers. For the onlookers, it was the first time in Hawaii to see a European type of festival and gave an impression that such a festival might become another cultural event of the Hawaiian community.

The first part of the festival was set aside for the formal opening of the occasion with speeches by prominent citizens of Portuguese extraction including those in the medical and legal professions as well as the Honorary Consul of Portugal. One thing which impressed this writer most was that all of the speeches emphasized the importance of preserving Portuguese culture and the significance of being Portuguese. The typical exhortations in those speeches were, "Be proud of your Portuguese background," "Preserve your Portuguese culture," "Get higher education. Be teachers. I want to see many more teachers from among the Portuguese," etc. Professional achievement, higher education, self-respect as an ethnic group, unity as an ethnic group, etc. were among the things particularly stressed by the speakers. One of the speeches even expressed a hope for an eventual civic organization of the Portuguese similar to the Chinese Civic Club. All these expressions at the folk dance festival appeared to indicate a new trend among the Portuguese toward the revival of their ethnic culture and toward the organization of persons of Portuguese ancestry into a separate ethnic group apart from the dominant Caucasian group. Early in 1955, one of the community organizations[2] expressed an interest in organizing a Portuguese group to represent its culture in a similar manner to the other ethnic groups. This too appeared to be a further indication of a new trend among the Portuguese for solidarity as a separate nationality group.

There are at least two situations in which ethnic groups tend to preserve their respective cultures. (1) When an ethnic group is isolated from the dominant group or from the larger community by geographical separation or social distance, such a group tends to maintain its traditional type of social organization and customs. Most of the immigrants maintained this type of collective existence and preserved their respective cultures. (2) When an ethnic group regards itself faced with discrimination, such a group may resort to revival of their traditional culture as a means of maintaining their group morale and solidarity in defense against the hostile outside world. In this instance, the preservation of their old culture is in the nature of a

[1] Honolulu Star-Bulletin, June 29 and July 14, 1954.

[2] World Brotherhood.

nativistic movement to restore their self-respect as a group by reviving the memories of their past glory and traditional values. These two ways of preserving cultures are by no means completely separable. At different times the same ethnic group may undergo psychologically the two different experiences mentioned above in pursuing its traditional way of life.

The Portuguese in Hawaii could have resorted to such nativistic movement in the face of discrimination in the past. They could have isolated themselves psychologically, if not physically, from the dominant Haole or Caucasian community and have resorted to memories of their old country with its past glory of achievement in order to boost their morale and thereby continue their collective existence as an ethnic group. In their case, however, there was very little of such negative separatist type of adjustment. Their effort has been always a positive one of getting assimilated into the Haole community. Their consistent and unceasing effort has been to prove that the separate classification of Portuguese from all other Caucasians was wrong and to eliminate the mark of difference from the Haoles. Their thoroughgoing effort involved disbanding as a nationality group, giving up old world institutions and language and even changing their names; they did everything and anything in order to change the stereotype the dominant Caucasians had of the Portuguese and to prove that they were legitimate members of the Caucasian race and the Haole community.[3] The past effort of the Portuguese in Hawaii has been to lose their identity as Portuguese in order to prove themselves to be Haoles.

How have the Portuguese folk dances been preserved then? According to one of the leaders and organizers of folk dancing groups, the Portuguese folk dances are closely related to their religious festivals in the old country and, for this reason, they were preserved as part of their church activities after they came to Hawaii. It was pointed out also that on the plantations, particularly on the outer islands where women had more time to visit each other, they had more occasions to practice folk dancing and singing of folk songs of their old country. At their parties in private homes, their folk dancing and singing were kept. They were never for public display, however, except to the extent that the religious festivals have been public.[4]

Two factors may be mentioned as contributory toward the preservation of the Portuguese culture on the plantations, namely (1) spatial separation and (2) social distance. (1) Spatial separation: On the plantations the Portuguese maintained their separate ethnic life in terms of location. Owing to the plantation policy of keeping different nationality groups in separate living areas, even if this was not their deliberate choice, the Portuguese were grouped together apart from the other ethnic groups. (2) Social distance the Portuguese on the plantations experienced was of a two-way nature, namely, (a) in relation to the Oriental ethnic groups and (b) in relation to the other Caucasians or the so-called Haole groups. In regard to social distance from the Oriental ethnic groups two separate reasons may be cited, namely, first, the natural consequence of inaccessibility to Orientals due to their racial and cultural difference, including language and customs and, second, the deliberate effort on the part of the Portuguese to keep themselves distinct from the Oreintals as a result of their dislike of being thrown into the category of the laboring class which was predominantly of Asiatic immigrants.

[3]Gerald A. Estep, "Portuguese Assimilation in Hawaii and California", Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 26 (1941-42), No. 1 pp. 66, 67.

[4]Folk dancing is, for instance, a feature of the Feast of the Holy Ghost celebrated annually by the Portuguese of the Punchbowl district in Honolulu.

The social distance in relation to the other Caucasians or the so-called Haole group was of the nature of class distance, the Haoles representing the managerial class while the Portuguese represented the laboring class. Being the only Caucasian nationality group for decades thus separately classified by their national origin and differentially treated, the Portuguese were exceedingly resentful of this fact. As a result, even the term "Portuguese" came to be regarded as an epithet. In regard to the Haoles, the single effort was to get rid of that mark and to prove that they were members of the Caucasian race. Thus, the Portuguese sense of identity took two directions. In relation to the dominant Caucasian community, they tried to reduce their difference in order to make themselves acceptable, while in relation to the Asiatic immigrants they tried to emphasize their separateness.

Many Portuguese left Hawaii for California and other states where there was no discrimination against them. Still many more moved to Honolulu to pursue other kinds of trades and occupations than plantation labor, thus escaping from the distasteful separate classification and discrimination as an ethnic group. The sponsors of folk dance groups were among such people. They learned folk dances from their parents while they were still on the plantations on the other islands, chiefly Hawaii. They preserved their folk dances within their church after they came to Honolulu. They also had them at social occasions at private homes. Their dances were never deliberately presented for public display, however.

According to the sponsors of the folk dancing groups, the public performance of Portuguese dancing was stimulated by the program sponsored by World Brotherhood two years earlier when they were asked to show to the public something of the nature of their Portuguese heritage. Evidently, at that time they did not resent being approached as Portuguese and being asked to perform their distinctively Portuguese folk dances. Since then, their own group composed of about 25 or more members has shown their dances at hospitals including those of the Armed forces and at gatherings of an international nature. A couple who are responsible for other folk dancing groups both in Honolulu and a rural area also indicated their enthusiasm about the earlier days. At any rate, public performances of Portuguese folk dances have recently been mentioned several times in the local papers along with dances of Oriental nationalities on various occasions, including the opening ceremony of the Biltmore Hotel and an international program sponsored by the Business and Professional Women's Club.

According to those sponsors, they began to feel that the Portuguese had something worthwhile to show to other peoples. As they repeated their experience of public display of their folk dancing, they realized the public's appreciation of the Portuguese culture instead of encountering comtempt. Such experience helped them to re-evaluate their folk culture. Also, as they displayed their folk dances along with the Oriental ethnic groups, they became aware of the fact that they were not treated as representatives of a laboring class but as representatives of worthwhile values. Such experience in turn helped them to regard the Oriental ethnic groups as representatives of worthwhile values instead of a lower laboring class. As a result, they became more willing to compare themselves with the Orientals on an equal basis as evidenced in such statements, as, "Chinese celebrate their New Year. Japanese have their Bon dance festival. Hawaiians show their hula dance. Filipinos and Koreans have public performances of their dances. Why shouldn't we show our Portuguese folk dances," or "We want the younger generation to learn Portuguese folk dances so that they can carry on our heritage like the Orientals."

The following significant factors are noticeable in this social phenomenon. (1) The change in the conception of themselves on the part of the Portuguese in relation to the Haole community and (2) the change in their conception of the Orientals in relation to themselves. A few fundamental reasons may be attributed for these changes, namely, (a) their statistical disappearance since 1940 when the census included Portuguese as Caucasians and thereby eliminated the separate classification of Portuguese. Also, in 1947, the Board of Public Instruction eliminated the separate racial or nationality classification of all students, automatically eliminating a separate classification of Portuguese. As a result of their classification as Caucasians, the Portuguese no longer need to assert their difference from the Orientals. (b) Another reason is that their own group status in the larger community has risen due to the occupational and economic achievement and political leadership of people of Portuguese ancestry. As often expressed by the sponsors of folk dancing groups, the public recognizes the advancement of the Portuguese in the community. (c) The third reason is the advancement of the Orientals in social, economic, and political status. Their comparison of themselves with the Orientals no longer makes them feel involved with a lower social or economic class.

How widespread is the interest in the preservation of folk dancing among those of Portuguese ancestry? The recent interviews with the sponsors of the folk dancing groups indicate that, in spite of their enthusiasm in starting the groups, the response has been fragmentary. They ascribed this difficulty to the general lack of interest among the young people in Portuguese culture, lack of official support from prominent citizens of Portuguese extraction, a sense of shame to be called "Portuguese" because of the past stigma, lack of unity among people of Portuguese ancestry, etc. Concerning the future of their folk dancing groups, the sponsors expressed a very pessimistic view.[5] Their typical feelings are that they have done all they could to help but they can't waste any more time. They consider their enthusiasm and effort in terms of service to their own people. In contrast to their eagerness, however, the response from both adults and young people has been very little. The sponsors are not true representatives of the Portuguese community. Neither do they represent the sentiment of people of

[5]Statements such as the following indicate their despair. "We are too busy to waste any more time helping them. We wanted to teach the younger generation our folk dancing so that they can carry on. But they don't show any interest. They are ashamed of being Portuguese. That's where they are wrong. Neither do we get any cooperation from those prominent people who told us to preserve the Portuguese culture. Without public support, we can't go far. Our group will continue as a hobby group among us friends because that's the only recreation we have. If we are asked to perform at public gatherings or hospitals of the Armed Forces, we will go. But we will do that as our hobby."

"I tried to help the kids in Punchbowl. First night 30 girls came. They sat and complained that they didn't have a good time. I told them to bring their own partners. A few showed up next time without partners. Finally I told them 'Quit.' We used to go to W (rural district) but no more. Now I try to teach a cosmopolitan group once a week. They are not Portuguese. We meet every Friday night at the building at C Park. Our children and grandchildren go with us to help us."

"It costs me money and time. I give them free lessons. After the lesson, we have light refreshments. But if they don't show much interest, I am going to quit by September."

Portuguese ancestry. Hence they have very little support and cooperation from the latter. Further inquiry indicates that the majority of people of Portuguese extraction seem to be completely indifferent about the frequently publicized folk dancing groups. This indifference was explained by a school teacher as follows.

> The Portuguese in Hawaii have done everything to get rid of the mark of their Portuguese background. Many of them even anglicized their names. It is still too soon for them to forget completely the past stigma attached to the word "Portuguese" or "Portegee". Portuguese still feel hurt if they are called "Portuguese". Frenchmen don't get mad when they are called "French". Portuguese should feel the same way but they don't, because of their past experience. Portuguese are very sensitive people. They can't stand insult. That's why they did everything to get rid of any mark of their Portuguese background in order to prove that they were members of the Caucasian race. The revival of folk dancing or any cultural mark of the Portuguese seems like going backward and undoing what they have worked so hard to achieve. Moreover, since we have been brought up by our parents to think of ourselves as Americans, the term Portuguese does not arouse in us any sentimental interest. For us, Portugal is just another foreign country and never arouses in us any feeling of loyalty or attachment. So, if those who are interested in organizing folk dancing groups are creative enough to make very lively and attractive new dances out of their folk dances, young people of Portuguese ancestry would go, not because the dances were originated in Portugual but because they are fun. Only by making their dances attractive to all young people regardless of racial or nationality background, will they be able to get the young people of Portuguese ancestry into their dancing groups.

It appears that the majority of older Portuguese have no desire to be called Portuguese again and treated as a distinct ethnic group and the young people of Portuguese ancestry no longer regard themselves as Portuguese. Therefore, the term "Portuguese" and exhortations such as "Preserve your Portuguese culture" or "Be proud of your Portuguese background" do not constitute a challenge for self-respect or group solidairty among the Portuguese. Having once been assimilated into the larger Caucasian community as its members, they do not respond to the term "Portuguese" with any sense of group pride or enthusiasm. Only the term "American" or "American citizenship" can do the job. Should they have been challenged by phrases such as, "Be proud of American citizenship," the response might have been more positive and might well have included even the learning of Portuguese folk dancing. As has been indicated, those who are promoting folk dancing groups are the ones who are able to regard their folk dances and other forms of Portuguese culture in the same manner as Norwegians, Germans, Italians, etc. do their respective folk dances. However, they are in the minority and do not represent the majority of local Portuguese.

How can the Portuguese folk dances be preserved then? One answer is by making them a common possession of all the people as in the case of the Hawaiian hula dance which is becoming a common property of all who are interested in learning it. The tango of Argentine, the samba of Brazil, the rhumba of Cuba are among many such folk dances which have spread beyond their place or group of origin and become the common property of the people who have learned them. This is the same process as when we acknowledge the lasting value of German music, Italian opera, Shakespearean plays, etc.

There is a universal appreciation by people regardless of their nationality or ethnic background. Another answer to the question of how to preserve the folk dances is by way of experts or specialists. The status and function of the sponsors of Portuguese folk dancing groups are those of experts. They are not to be regarded so much as representatives of their ethnic group but as persons with specialized skill or knowledge in their particular field of interest.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF MY FAMILY

Silvia Wu

At six o'clock in the morning, when daylight is gradually approaching, a four-storied, red-brick building can be seen in a quiet neighborhood in Hong Kong. The top story of this building is the home of a family, a Chinese family not very rich and not very poor--my family.

At this early hour the whole house is hushed, but there is a slight stir in the kitchen for our old servant, Ah Tung, is already busy preparing breakfast. A kettle of water is boiling on the stove, water for tea . . . My two little brothers, Junior, aged six, and Roy, aged four, are soon up and out of bed, playing together and jabbering in a flow of fluent Chinese which wakes their servant, Ah Yuet, up. Ah Yuet is a very fat, moon-faced girl. Every morning she spends a great deal of time combing her long, black hair into a thick pigtail extending down her back. By seven o'clock the whole family is awake. My father and mother are reading the morning newspaper and my elder sister, Gwynne, I, and my younger sister Linda prepare for school.

The first words we utter as soon as we awake are "good morning." For every morning there is an exchange of good morning greetings between the members of the family and also between the family and the servants. Chinese children are brought up to be very polite and respectful to one another and to their elders.

We breakfast about seven-thirty a.m. The members of the family sit together around the big table in the dining room while Ah Tung serves us. She places the main dishes--usually fish, green vegetables, eggs perhaps--at the center of the table, then hands each of us a bowl of rice and a pair of chopsticks. This done, she stands nearby while we eat, ready to give anyone a second helping of rice by refilling the bowl.

When the meal is set before us, we do not start eating at once. Instead, bowls and chopsticks in hand, we exchange the phrase, "Let's eat rice," but we do not say grace like many Western families, because our religion places no such obligation on us. We eat by holding our individual bowls of rice in our left hand, and the chopsticks in our right, helping ourselves to the food at the middle of the table. Eating from a common dish, we have learned, is not sanitary, yet we have never thought of eating in any other way. Our way of eating is a tradition deeply rooted in us. Another Chinese tradition which we cling to is having rice for breakfast. Frankly, we children do not like such a heavy breakfast, but, as my father loves it, we do not complain. Since Father is the head of the household and buys the food, we believe he should have his way. We are grateful for a good father and for having food. The beggars, we know, are not as fortunate.

Breakfast over, Ah Tung pours the tea for us. We all drink pure Chinese tea without cream or sugar. Even Junior and Roy drink tea. Tea hinders the growth of children, so we learned, and yet we give tea to our youngsters.

Our two servants breakfast together when we are through eating. My sisters and I leave for school. Gwynne attends the University of Hong Kong and Linda and I attend St. Clare's School, a little missionary school near our home. My father, a photographer, goes to work.

Every morning my mother worships our ancestors, for my parents believe strongly in ancestral worship. Near the window in our parlor stands a long, narrow table, on the top of which are two framed portraits of my paternal grandparents (for only paternal ancestors are worshipped). On the long table are also two containers for the burning of joss sticks, and also two candleholders. After burning joss sticks, my mother pours some tea (by the way, this tea must be "fresh" tea--that is, it cannot be from the breakfast teapot) into some very tiny tea-cups and sets these tea-cups before the ancestors. This done, she prays to our ancestors and asks for blessings.

Ancestral worship is the religion of my parents. It is a traditional religion, for all our ancestors as far back as can be traced, have heeded this religious practice. This practice has become one of the important mores that my parents accept without question. Though they know about Christ, my parents cling to their religion of ancestral worship. We children, however, do not. I, for one, respect my deceased grandparents, but do not worship them, and consequently do not pray to them. It is not that we children have no religion. Gwynne is rather indifferent, true, but Linda and I believe in Catholicism and attend mass every Sunday. My parents have never forced us to indulge in ancestral worship, but are happy if we do. My parents have never forbidden us to go to church. In other words, we hold different views in the matter of religion but we never discuss which is the true religion. For we respect each other's beliefs, and there is harmony in the home.

Like other Chinese families of our position, we have servants. After breakfast they do all the household tasks. Our two servants live in, are given food and board and also rather high salaries--no longer is domestic help cheap as it was in the "good old days." As a whole, we treat our servants well. To lighten their work, we have an electric washing machine, a gas stove, a refrigerator and other modern work-saving devices--things not many Chinese families would purchase for the use of servants. We also help with the light household chores such as tidying our own rooms, for my parents believe that we should do some of the work and not be "spoiled." My friends in Hong Kong, however, never do such things. They tell me we "spoil" our servants by helping them.

And they are right! Because we treat our servants well, they "take advantage" of us. They get lazy, omit to do their duties . . . Moreover, they tend to forget their positions, making too free a use of the radio, lying on our beds, when we are not around, and so forth. Hence we often find it necessary to reprimand them in order to discipline them.

Everyday, while the servants busy themselves with the household chores, my mother teaches Junior and Roy their lessons. My two little brothers also go to St. Clare's School, afternoon session, from one-thirty p.m. to five-thirty p.m. Though this is their first year of school, their studies are very difficult. They learn English (reading and writing), arithmetic (adding, substracting, and multiplying), and religious knowledge, memorizing the Catholic doctrine in Chinese. Most difficult are their Chinese subjects--reading, writing, dictation, and composition. Junior and Roy, being intelligent, learn very quickly and have even mastered the multiplication tables up till seven. How different this is from the American system of education!

By noon the house is spic-and-span. As my sisters and I get through classes before one o'clock, we have our lunch together at home. It is much the same as breakfast, though for variety we sometimes have bread or noodles, etc., instead of rice. After lunch Ah Yut takes the two boys to

school and the rest of the family attend to what we have to do or what we feel like doing.

Sometimes we go out, to shows, to friends' houses; sometimes we have our friends over. For our parents let us have our own way; they let us do what we wish; they let us choose our own friends; they do not tell us what we must do and what we must not do; they do not govern our lives. They believe us capable of making our own decisions. My parents rarely have to discipline us (in fact, I cannot remember having been either spanked or scolded!) for they have brought us up in such a way that we discipline ourselves. In bringing us up, they have implanted in us a sense of responsibility. We feel we must always do what is good, what is right. We realize that our parents trust us, and we must not let them down. This feeling of being good children that our parents can be proud of, comes also from the great love we have for our family.

Coming back to a day in our life, we have tea at four p.m. At this hour, we drink our tea with sugar and cream and also have cakes or pastries to go with it. Tea is a British custom which we have adopted.

After four, Ah Tung does the marketing. She always charges us more for the groceries and "pockets" the profits. This is a common practice among servants in Hong Kong, and there is hardly anything we can do about it.

In the evening my mother again burns joss sticks and worships our ancestors, but this time she pours away the tea and washes the teacups.

We generally have our dinner at eight p.m. or later, when the whole family is home and the meal goes on much the same as during breakfast. Our hearty meal usually consists of a dish of fish, shrimps or some other sea food, a dish of meat, some vegetables, and soup. There is much friendly chatter around the table, accounts of daily events, interesting bits of news, and so forth.

After dinner, the servants clear the table and "clear" up. My sisters and I then do our homework. We do it well, for we know the value of education. Father has taught us this. My father wants us all to have a good education. He believes that a good education will prepare us to take our stand in life when we become young men and women. Much as he values education, however, my father has never, and will never, force any of us to go to college. This is entirely up to us.

After dinner my parents work in the dark room which we have in our house. Oftentimes we go there too, either to help or to watch and chat.

When we take our bath at night, we prepare the water ourselves, that is, we boil the water (for there is no hot water in Hong Kong) and pour it into the bathtub ourselves. Other Chinese families rely on their servants to prepare their baths.

And before going to bed, when the day is over, we never fail to wish each other a pleasant good night.

This has just been a very brief glimpse of a day in the life of my family. As you can see, our family life is not typically Chinese--it is a sort of combination of Chinese, American, and British culture. To understand this a sketch of our family background is necessary. My father was born in Hong Kong but lived in Honolulu in his youth. My mother is Chinese,

but was born and raised in Honolulu. It was in Honolulu that they met and fell in love, but they went back to Hong Kong to get married. It was a typical Chinese wedding, the bride all dressed in her costly, elaborate Chinese robes sitting in a sedan chair hoisted by coolies . . . Gwynne and I were born in Hong Kong. When the Second World War threatened Hong Kong we immigrated to Honolulu and soon Linda was born. Spending seven years in Honolulu we children soon forgot Chinese and adopted the American way of life. But in 1947, the war being over, we returned to our native land, Hong Kong. After some years, Junior and Roy were added to our family.

Hence we know both ways of life--American and Chinese--and also a third way of life, the British (Hong Kong is a British Colony). We adopted certain aspects of each culture. From the Chinese we got the drinking of tea instead of water, the worshipping of ancestors, the extreme politeness and deep reverence we have for our parents . . . . From the Americans we learned how not to be "spoiled," how to work for ourselves, how not to look down on people below our rank (as Chinese are apt to do).. . . From the British we got the habit of having tea at four in the afternoon . . . Moreover these different ways of life mingled. Our clothes, for instance, are Chinese and English. And the language which we speak at home is both Chinese and English. For indeed certain members of the family know Chinese better, while others know English better, while my two little brothers only speak Chinese, though they understand English. Consequently, both Chinese and English are spoken at home. Sometimes we speak English with the addition of many Chinese words, or vice versa, and the result is a somewhat "modified English" or a "modified Chinese" or, as the Hawaiian would say, "pidgin-English-Chinese!" I can truthfully say that changing from our culture to another has greatly affected our way of living.

Moreover my parents are not like many Chinese parents who love only sons because they carry on the family name. I am glad to say that my parents love all of their children. Also my mother is not like many mothers in Hong Kong who leave the children entirely under a servant's care. My two little brothers do not lack parental affection though they have a servant to care for them. We are a very happy family. I can truthfully say that I am extremely fortunate in being a member of this family, and living in a household pervaded with the atmosphere of love.

THE PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATION[1]

Evelyn Yama Kimura and Margaret Zimmerman Freeman

In Hawaii, the assimilation of all people is taken too much for granted. Perhaps there is a need to bring out the process of assimilation in Hawaii, to talk about it, and actually to analyze and evaluate it. This is possibly a way of not only comprehending the past, but also being cognizant of the present, perhaps of foreseeing the future. What then is assimilation? According to Kimball Young, "We may define assimilation as an interactional process by which persons and groups achieve the memories, sentiments, ideas, attitudes, and habits of another person or group and by sharing their experiences become incorporated with them in a common cultural life of the nation."[2]

Constantly new factors in the assimilative process arise, or the relative importance of the factors involved changes. The whole process varies from one period of time to another. Inevitably then, the process becomes highly complex.

The Present Study

The present study is confined to members of the second generation of the Japanese group who have already become well established occupationally and who have started their own families. These men were interviewed by the two writers. How do they look at themselves now? What is their concept of themselves individually, and as a group? How do they define their present situation? What are the common factors in their past development? How have these shaped their current orientation? How do they regard the future?

These questions give some general indication of the reason this study was undertaken. This particular stage in the second generation's assimilation process has not been studied to any extent. This study is confined to a particular ethnic group, the Japanese, who are numerically the largest group in the Territory, comprising just under 40 per cent of the total population. During the war, this group was placed in a unique situation, in that their parents were citizens of a country which was at war with their own country. The tensions growing out of this were pointed up further by the fact that these young people were quite aware of the implications of the situation, and because of their age, were prompted into acting in a certain fashion. Then, too, this group has been very close to the first generation, a fact not always the case among the third generation or even the second generationsoof other ethnic groups. In some instances tools such as facility with the Japanese language have had to be retained for communication to take place between them and their elders. Yet the attitudes of their parents and the society at large during the crucial years have prompted them to venture out into the wider world. Their stage in the assimilation process, and the factors affecting them historically and currently thus differentiate our interviewees as objects of study.

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[1] Prepared by the writers in 1953.

[2] W. C. Smith, Americans in the Making, New York, 1939, p. 117 from Kimball Young, An Introductory Sociology, New York, 1934, p. 495. Cf. also R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, An Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 735.

Shortage of time has, of necessity, limited the scope of the study. The subjects are known to have attained a fair degree of success in their particular occupation, as judged by themselves and their contemporaries. They are known in Honolulu and throughout the Territory for the positions they hold. They are of a certain business and professional level, have reached a certain economic status, a certain corresponding social and cultural status. These men are about the same age, roughly the years from 30 to 45.

Because of the limited number of interviews, the researchers must state that the findings apply to this small group alone and only hypothetically to other Nisei. Thus, this study has implications for future research. If the pattern of the study were applied to the study of other ethnic groups within the Territory, there could be derived the Territorial trend in assimilation, in general and as it applies to the different ethnic groups. A future study might also be based on a wider range of occupations within the Nisei group, and thus determine the relations of socio-economic factors in the assimilation process. The same would also be true of the other ethnic groups in the Territory.

As was mentioned, the interview method was chosen as the tool for this study. There seemed to be a definite need to have life-history material, in the words of the subjects, to point out the quality of feeling and thinking on certain issues, and to cut through to the fundamental way in which they looked at themselves and their experiences, for this was the final goal of our research.

We recognize the inevitable limitations growing out of the differential backgrounds and methods of operation of the interviewers. Perhaps the fact that one of us is Haole and the other Japanese, was an advantage and helped us in overcoming certain biases.

We will deal in our analysis with two broad categories. The external aspects of assimilation will deal with objective behavior, that which is visible and overt. Internal assimilation will then include the subjective, covert aspects of adjustment, attitudinal organization, and stated ratiocinations for participation in certain activities.

External Assimilation

These men are well-poised individuals, accommodated on the surface to the American culture and ways of acting. They are facile with the English language, their social presence embellished with Western cultural traits. Their homes are in Nuuanu, Manoa, Makiki, Aina Haina, and on the Heights, removed from the areas of first settlement in the city, occupied by the immigrant generation when they first moved to Honolulu from the plantations. From the standpoint of external assimilation, these facts suggest that they are assimilated. But by checking their statements, their presence and absence in certain situations, clues arise pointing out the inadequacy of their internal adjustment, their psychological feelings of "not-being-at-home" in some of the situations in which they find themselves. It is this contrast we hope to point up below.

Subjective Reaction To The War

The recent war has served to hasten the assimilation process of the Hawaii Nisei, especially of those who were in the service or on the Mainland. As one of them stated:

> During the war I was one of the first Nisei from here to go in. I didn't go in for the glory, but because I felt I had a job to do. We were sent overseas quite soon, and I always had the interests of the boys in mind. I had to interpret them and their way of thinking to the officers, and point out the differences in the islanders and the mainlanders. I refused each lieutenancy they offered because that would further widen the gap between myself and the boys. I was the colonel's secretary and that was just the job that would put me in the best position to be useful to the boys. Did I have a rough time getting into the service! My wife went down to the draft board and 'signed me away,' saying that she could be financially independent. And I certainly was not the youngest volunteer that the army ever had.

One person evaluated the war experiences in a slightly different way:

> In the war we were given responsibility and were rated accordingly. That was the beginning of a confidence in myself and my ability. We had a chance to mature and prove ourselves.

There was thus a generally favorable reaction to their war experience. It was considered helpful in establishing contacts, getting to know different ethnic groups, a true "eye-opener to many aspects of life previously unknown to us."

At the beginning, however, there were also indications of initial uncertainties as to their exact status on the Mainland during the war.

> Coming into Camp McCoy (Wisconsin) was quite an experience. There was a PW camp there, and all of us were just sick because we thought we were going there. In fact, the train stopped, and backed the entire length through the PW camp into Camp McCoy to unload us. We certainly were relieved when we realized that we were to be free, after all.

Two of the men who visited Japan with the occupation troops immediately after the close of the war expressed their feeling about Japan and Hawaii this way:

> It's dirty! The morale of the people is low. It's congested. After that, as far as we're concerned, Hawaii is and will always be home.

In the case of those who were not in service there was emphasis and re-emphasis of the work they had done during the war years. Their activities varied:

> While I was still on the Mainland, the war broke out. I wasn't in the service but I taught at Camp Savage Interpreter's School (Japanese) and also worked for the Federal Government part of the time.

> Although my brother was accepted into the army, I had to remain on Kauai because I couldn't qualify physically. So I took the next best step and became active in the Civilian Defense Mobilization Corps. We held the record for being the most active island organization, you know.

The Role of "Social Life"

In the area of social participation, most of the men were out of their homes two or three evenings a week to business and professional meetings. The ethnic group composition of those present at the meetings varied with the occupations. One man in a position at the University expressed it in this fashion:

> When I meet with church groups, or my wife takes me to PTA, or when I go to political meetings, the group is well-mixed, racially. There is never any suggestion of differences, everything is cordial. Maybe the acceptance is due to similarities in academic backgrounds and the intellectual atmosphere.

Frequently business contacts lead into social contacts. In the words of a high government official:

> Many of the cocktail parties to which I am invited are primarily for entertaining people visiting in the Islands. There the group is slightly cosmopolitan, with more Haoles than other groups. Frequently these are couple parties, too.

There were also indications of non-attendance at social functions on various occasions due primarily to such factors as the fear of having political favors asked of them which could not be granted, in addition to such personal factors, as, perhaps, certain self-conscious feelings about their ethnic background.

Social contacts are closely related to the positions that these men hold. In most instances, they were members of golf clubs and other social organizations.

> I'm a member of two golf clubs, one very old and the other quite recent. The older, is, I think, solely made up of Japanese and the other has a Hawaiian, four Chinese, two Koreans, and the rest Japanese. Many might get the idea that we're being racial but what they don't understand is the fact that it isn't only golf that is holding us together. There are many other factors in operation to make the club a success. One of them is the pride we take in one another's accomplishments and the interest we have in one another. For example, in the older club, X, an official, is a member and when he was going to be sworn in, he invited all the members of the club to attend the ceremony. And do you know, every one of the members was present. X was very touched and very pleased. I don't blame him either. You see, the point I'm trying to make is the fact that all the members were proud of him and gave him their full support. It is really things like that which count. Golf is only a minor aspect of the whole thing.

It was found that in most of their social groups the Japanese were predominant. In social contacts ancestry seemed to outweigh economic and social class, but whatever association with Haoles existed, was with those of the same age, economic bracket, and business.

> I have a number of Haole friends with whom I feel perfectly at ease. But they're all up and coming businessmen and not the stuffed shirts you see around here. I think the young ones are beginning to realize that you have to cut across racial lines if you're going to get anywhere in Hawaii. The young executives from the Mainland are also quite friendly.
>
> Basically our movement socially is determined largely by our economic status. There is little use in our running around with people of a higher social and financial status because it's foolish. For example, if they go to the Royal--and usually, if you belong to a certain social set, you do--you are more or less obligated to go, especially if you want to keep up your social prestige in that group. As far as I'm concerned, I'm out of that class although I probably make a lot more money than quite a few members of that group.

That the great concern for social life may undermine family life is suggested in the following account:

> As for our own social life, my wife and I do go to dinner parties about once or twice a month. Poor wife. She seldom gets to go out. As for me, I usually end up about once a week at some night club with some of my close friends. They're of a mixed group though largely Japanese. When the group is mixed, it is predominantly Japanese but sometimes I go out alone with some Haole friends. You know, M, for instance. But that's largely for business purposes. When we go to night clubs, we usually end up in some place like the N. You know, it's funny, but very seldom do I see many couples, married, that is. I guess that's tied in with all the philandering I see going on. You can't seem to avoid it. I guess businessmen are notorious for that.

Family and Church Life

With those men whose jobs were not solely dependent upon making and keeping contacts, they gave indications of family-centered activities. They are more "arrived" and seem to feel less the need of constant effort to build reputations.

> For recreation, my wife and I try to do things with our children. We have a boy and a girl. So we picnic and choose a movie that the kids will enjoy and then all of us go together. It's hard for my wife, for the kids are young and she is pretty tied down. When I fish I try to combine that with a picnic at the beach for the family. My golfing is rather recent but I try to hold that at a minimum because it is something that would keep me from my family.
>
> I've seen neglected youngsters, and I've seen the trouble they get into. I try to spend every minute of free time with my family. That's why I don't golf. My girls mean too much to me.

When there is a definitely stated interest in church, it is interesting to note that it was for a Christian church whose membership is predominantly Japanese of middle class background. In the three instances in which the young men were actively engaged in YBA (Buddhist) activities as members of the board of officers of the organization, the men were sons of already well-established parents who were financially and socially secure. Perhaps there was less need of membership in a Christian Church for status or business purposes. Further, these young men are now advanced to the point

where they move with considerable freedom not only within their own racial group but in the broader society of the Territory. Other than this YBA interest, the rest of their views are similar to those of the other Nisei interviewed.

One of the men placed considerable emphasis on church and children.

> I have been superintendent of the Sunday School with its twenty-five teachers for quite a few years. Probably that has influenced the way in which I look at my family and discipline my five children. Children need to be guided and taught what is proper, to distinguish between right and wrong. They must be taught respect for their parents so that they will develop respect for themselves. You don't always have to use corporal punishment--I reason with my youngsters and it works out well. We had visitors from the Mainland several weeks ago and they were amazed at the obedience we commanded, even from our year old baby, who disappeared into the children's room along with the other four and played there quietly while we had our buffet dinner. I am concerned about my children's English, their choice of words, their sentence construction. Actually they're at a disadvantage because of their mother's education in Japan, but my daughter passed her English standard test this year for the first time. I try to help her to finish her sentences and not talk in the abbreviated fashion that the kids in the neighborhood seem to favor.

There are also instances in which children draw their parents into social situations.

> I have two children, both of them girls. They're going to Hanahauoli, which is one of the best schools in town. Better than Punahou. I myself think very highly of the school. They don't stress things like father's occupation, income, etc., which I understand some of the private schools do. But sometimes one can't avoid being embarrassed. Many of my daughters' friends are from very wealthy classes and sometimes the forms of recreation they suggest are way beyond our means. For example, during the Easter vacation, they asked me for permission to go to Hawaii to ride polo horses. Needless to say, that's way beyond our income bracket. I really had a hard time convincing them that that was not the thing for them to do. I think they finally understood--at least partially. They are nine and seven, and old enough to know.
>
> Our youngsters play with Japanese children mainly, since we live in a primarily Japanese community. Their mother sometimes takes them down to the homes of their other school chums - Haoles - who live beyond the heavy traffic arteries. Children from both of these groups come to our house to play. If anything, we have closer relationships with the Japanese families, mainly because they are our close neighbors. (The mother in this instance is a Mainland Haole girl.)

In all instances, the youngsters are no older than elementary school age. Questions as to dating or marriage preferences, or even vocations for their children, were not yet of great concern.

Role of Formal Education and Travel in Assimilation

In the main, formal education was the vehicle by which these men rose to their present occupational positions.

> As I look back and try to figure out why I have attained what little success I have, it seems to me that the main reason is the excellent training I have had. You see, I did graduate work at the University of Minnesota (in fact, finished all but the orals and the thesis for an M.S. degree), and that more or less qualified me for handling the job I now have (in one of the largest Haole firms). I was most surprised when I was asked to teach some night courses. Training is very necessary, if for nothing else but the ability to feel competent in the situation.

All of these men have had experiences on the Mainland, if not through school, then during the war and on more recent business trips. That experience seems to have been used to good advantage, for example:

> When I'm on the Mainland, I'm usually very busy and so I try to use all my time to broaden my Mainland contacts. That's why I just phone the Hawaii people there to say 'hello' and really make no effort to see them, and also, I can see them here in the Territory.
>
> I feel that some of the things I learned while in the Federal Capital have been very useful to me in such organizations as the Volunteer Placement Bureau, the Territorial Employment Advisory Council, the Honolulu Junior Chamber of Commerce, and the Rotary Club. There I learned how to get along with everyone and especially Haoles, which I'm not sure I'd know if I had remained in the Islands completely or remained only with Islanders while on the Mainland.

Although, in many instances, the favorable attitudes regarding Haoles carried over from the Mainland, there are also indications from the interviewees of their awareness of the difference between the situation on the Mainland and here. The following portrays this feeling:

> I went to school in New Haven. There we lived in small housing units, so there was little or no contact beyond the house. When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, we Hawaii boys got together. Some of them were of the big Haole families, Big Five, you know, and we talked together just like we were old friends. Even now we still talk when we see each other on the street, always greet each other, but we never go beyond that and visit in each other's homes. I guess our speaking is an advance over what our parents would have done, but I'm always careful to ignore the alumni club notices and meetings here because I know they wouldn't feel comfortable if I were there.

Another individual expressed his feelings thus:

> My wife is a Mainland Nisei. She was born and reared there and was graduated from college several years before me. Her father is in a profession there. I really don't know if she is really happy here thus far, but she seems satisfied. Her contacts have been largely Caucasian, although she had a large

number of Oriental friends as well. Here our contacts are limited primarily to the Oriental groups, composed largely, of course, of Japanese.

Attitude Towards Outmarriage

The men express approval of interracial marriages. Three of them have outmarried, two of them into the Caucasian group, and one of them a non-Japanese Oriental girl. All three of these wives are university graduates, as more or less befits this socio-economic class. In the cases where outmarriage has occurred, there is acceptance by the Niseis, and couples move as freely among the contemporary Japanese group as do other couples in which both are Japanese. This is, in a large measure, a contrast to the way in which Japanese of the older group or lower socio-economic levels would act toward an outsider married to a Japanese.

Perhaps this amalgamation, judged by many sociologists as the end result of assimilation, is evidence of the complete acceptance by these people of the "unorthodox race doctrine" in Hawaii mentioned by Romanzo Adams. Yet they have not accepted this situation without thorough and very careful analysis of the consequences involved, for example:

> Right at this moment, I think that the only way, permanently, to cut across racial lines is to have intermarriage, and lots of it. I guess it will be hard even now because of parental opposition but I think gradually we might come to have more intermarriages and thus break down the racial barriers. Really when you get to the basic roots, you'll find that race is still the fundamental thing in deciding whom you are going around with.

The Role of the Wives

Mainly due to the limitations of time in our study, which made it difficult to know the individuals well enough to get concrete information on which to generalize, we should like to refrain from discussing at length the role of the wives in the occupational mobility of the men. It seemed to make little difference, when the wife was Japanese, in their social mobility. When the wife was Haole, there were some indications of broader Haole contacts, but no indication of easier relationships with Haole and other ethnic groups.

The Self-Conceptions of Marginal Men

In the above interview materials we have tried to pull out examples indicative of how these people behave and of their conceptions about their behavior. We have attempted to use this method to reach the core of their conceptions about themselves. We have seen the extent and the ease with which they move about among the Japanese, even among the older Issei. As Romanzo Adams stated in 1936:

> You second generation Japanese inescapably bear a double responsibility. You must be good enough Japanese to get along with your parents and older Japanese, and at the same time, you must be good enough Americans to get along with the rest of the community. My people went through the same experience some ways back. This is a peculiar second generation responsibility. It is partly up to you to solve it.

This we feel they have accomplished for we have seen how they come out into the larger society, armed with an education, ready to compete for jobs and status in the larger community. From the external standpoint, they are acculturated and accommodated. They are marginal in that they return frequently to those like them, and they seem to move reservedly among the dominant economic group of the Territory, the Haoles:

> I tried to help my wife as much as I could. (The wife is a Mainland Haole girl.) That is why we moved in from the country. She had always lived in a city, and it was hard for her to live in rural Oahu. Even now, I try to help her as much as I can with the children, and we both feel that our family is most important. There are times when I try to explain the half-caste background of our youngsters to them, for they get all mixed up with the Haole-Japanese business, particularly when the neighborhood kids are all Japanese and ask our kids what racial background they are. But I guess the kids do pretty well. Anyway, I suppose they are pretty normal in behavior and adjustment.

Statements such as the following point to some of the more typical conceptions of self held by many Nisei in Hawaii.

> Everyone thinks I am a college graduate. That means I have a lot to live up to. And I have had to work with some pretty well-educated people on a DPI Advisory Board, a Church Board, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Lions Club. But I always remember how well our high school principal treated me expressing faith in my ability to be a success. And I had always given everyone a square deal when I was an assistant manager at X (a big Haole firm), so I acquired a fairly good reputation and could work from there. I couldn't have done as well as I did with this business, particularly through the war years, if I hadn't had that reputation on which to build.

> I really came up the hard way and I know how difficult it is to work when the boss is loafing. One must work hard and produce before you can even think of getting a raise or a promotion. That's what I did. I had my record to speak for me when I went to the management and demanded a raise. You have to be able to show the company the profit you're making for them. You have to do your share of the work to get anywhere. Right now, I prove to our customers that this company can offer them service--real service. Sometimes on Sundays, people call my home and ask for a rush job and even when I am out in the garden, I get down to the office as soon as possible to fix them up. I don't charge for that special service but I keep a record of it and if business from one of these companies for whom we have done favors decreases in volume, I take the situation right to them, put the cards on the table, and they come through. They can't deny anything, and our volume comes up again. I fully believe that it is these little things that count. At the present, I can walk in to any of the big offices in town and sit down with the big boss and just chat. They all call me by my English nickname.

> It really took pull to get my daughter into nursery school after the war. It was just because I was in Europe in the army, because I felt it was my duty to the boys to go with them, that

my wife had to take the children to another island to be with her mother and the record of my son's registration in this school was lost. A though my daughter had been too young to attend school I did have her registered with this nursery school, too. But her records were also lost. Actually she could have qualified for enrollment on all points, but it was just the fact that she was Japanese which held the school back from letting her enter. So I took the matter to various people of influence and finally something was done. But if I hadn't known the ropes or been persistent, my children would not have been enrolled in the school.

Another thing, I'm the only college graduate at my place of work, at least the only one who keeps coming back to school to take more courses. Things get a little strained down at work sometimes mainly because I've got more education than some of my superiors. It even hits me when I am out doing my work with the schools. One principal didn't want me to talk to the students because he doubted my facility with the English language. But that principal changed his mind when I corrected a grammatical error he made on the stage when he introduced me. It sure seems as though I have to cope with a lot of things, but when they find out more about you or you have a basis to validly correct their approach or statements, things seem to go much better.

Thus, even though these men have the training, the social finesse, the economic resources, they move in an unsure fashion in the wider society. The conception they have of themselves is marked, in that sense, by a bit of insecurity as to when and where and how far they can go. To this extent, there is social distance between them and the other ethnic groups. Whether it comes from their own group or from the group beyond is a moot question. But the important point is that they feel a bit reserved in the wider society and thus prefer to tread lightly. To this degree, they still have not completed the process of assimilation. On the whole, they're not "cocky," or militant, or braggarts--they are sound-thinking, evaluating individuals who are making the most of opportunities that are coming their way.

Just as their parents held the highest regard for education, these men also conceive of academic training as the means for bettering themselves and their group. But their identification with the Occident has been greater so that other things associated with more education and a consequent higher plane of living are also important, such as golfing for recreation, relaxation with a highball, proper education for their offspring in the area of purely social graces. They are not yet highbrow, according to the Life magazine criteria, for many in this group are almost completely ignorant of the "fine arts," such as music, painting, and literature. This is perhaps largely due to the plantation background, for they are equally ignorant of such aspects of Japanese culture. The situation will undoubtedly be different with their youngsters, for the Sansei are being broadly trained early in life in such schools as Punahou and Hanahauoli as well as in their homes. The prevailing social values of the world at large have left their influence as seen by the emphasis on materialism and money.

The assimilation process of these men is thus evident in the areas noted in this paper. In this respect, we hope the study can be conceived of as a measure of social change in one small segment of the population of the Territory of Hawaii.

BOOK REVIEW

Hawaii, U. S. A.* introduces young readers to their opposite number in the Hawaiian Islands--young Americans, too, who share their citizenship and educational privileges, their hobbies and love of sports, their problems of growing up, of finding the right job, and of adjusting to their special community problems. These words by the author perhaps best describe the central theme of this new book on Hawaii.

Cognizant of the scarcity of informative data on life in Hawaii for the average layman, the author has attempted in this book to give a brief but interesting and descriptive picture of Hawaii. Although the author has never lived in Hawaii, her book shows evidence of considerable research into the everyday phases of life in the Islands including materials on its industries, its educational system, festive occasions, its history, and its political life.

She has, in particular, attempted to impress upon the Mainlanders, the "American-ness" of the Island people. "For better or worse, in weakness and in strength, Hawaii is the U. S. A. Its schools, public libraries, art galleries, and hospitals are among the nation's best. Industries, department stores, airfields, modern conveniences for the home such as freezers and dishwashers are all part of daily living. Even the traffic jams on speedways and four-lane highways carrying a larger number of automobiles per capita than the car-cluttered mainland have come to be taken for granted. As in the States, individuals have their grievances; they grumble about strikes, incompetent officials, the taxes." (p. 15)

Although this book has been written primarily for the Mainland teenager, it contains many facts about Hawaii of interest to the local audience and succeeds in tying them together into a meaningful picture of Hawaii as a whole. In addition, the large number of photographic illustrations included will also prove to be of interest to the local reader.

Although there is some evidence of presenting a somewhat too glowing picture of ethnic relations in Hawaii, the author includes also, a brief description of areas where "practice lags behind principle." Negative attitudes toward the Filipinos, "the most recent arrivals on the lowest economic rung," the fading of "the older attitude of uncritical admiration for haoles," and the evidence of greater willingness "to talk about prejudices and inequality" among the Island people today, are all discussed briefly.

This book, I believe, is a valuable contribution to the ever increasing store of books on Hawaii for Mainland and local readers alike.

Evelyn Yama Kimura

*Lily Edelman, Hawaii, U. S. A. (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954).